

'Hip-hip-Hua'

Monday, November 8, 1976

By John Dillin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

path, he promised to place away overlapping

★Please turn to Page 12

By Joseph C. Harsch

Conceivably, the Soviets might like to push ahead now on the theory that they could get a better deal on strategic arms limits from the Ford administration than will be available to them in Carter days ahead. Also, until January they will be able to deal with the Henry A. Kissinger they know. After January in Washington is for them terra incognita. (The Soviets never got around to making the acquaintance of Mr. Carter until he suddenly emerged as the Democratic presidential nominee. By then he was too busy with his campaign to notice their efforts to talk to him.)

The leading candidate for Secretary of State seems to be Cyrus Roberts Vance, a New York lawyer, who served in the Department of Defense through the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. He was Deputy Secretary of Defense from 1964 to 1967. Since then he has shared with George W. Ball the role of unofficial "shadow" Secretary of State. Mr. Ball, who was Deputy Secretary of State during much of the Kennedy and Johnson years, backed Hubert H. Humphrey for the Democratic nomination; hence is presumed to be a second choice.

The Middle East is likely to be an important interest of American diplomacy early in the

'It's time to tap the great vitality and strength . . . and patriotism — the sense of brotherhood and sisterhood in this country — to unify the nation, to make it great once again.'

—President-Elect Carter

'I believe that we must now put the divisions of the campaign behind us and unite the country once again in the common pursuit of peace and prosperity.'

— *President Ford*

By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

By Francis Renny
Special to
Christian Science Monitor

Jimmy Carter says his views on the

What lay behind the thunderstorm generated outrage, the strained chorus playing politics with the lives of Britons?" was a real (fear of any kind of) Indian influence being brought to bear on the crisis: With memories of how the States pressed Britain into giving freedom to India, and of how the more recent Thatcher-Kissinger has dealt on Israel and why it decided to make concessions, almost whose authority is involved in North

land today is bound to fear that it would be overruled if some future President moved into the affair of the six counties. It is easy enough to find more objections.

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Basically only Britons can pull their country out of its economic mess.

Both have emphasized, in speech after speech, that Britain must pay its own way in the world. Both warn that a hard slog lies ahead.

Yet neither is ready for an emergency government of national union. Labour Prime Minister Callaghan is still confident that his basic strategy of a social contract with the 'radical' unions and encouragement of export-oriented manufacturing industry will pull Britain out of its slump. Mrs. Thatcher repeats the orthodox Conservative argument that government must cut public spending and increase incentives to private enterprise.

This is the situation as a team from the International Monetary Fund takes an intensive

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James Callaghan By Albert J. Forbes, staff writer

Britain must pay its own way

Highlights



RHODESIA'S FUTURE. In a Monitor interview, Joshua Nkomo explains his feelings about the Geneva talks. Page 14.

RISING STAR. In a Monitor interview, Italian actor Giancarlo Giannini claims, "On the screen I can influence people more than any political leader." And he is probably right. Page 24.

OFF INTO THE SUNSET. A Monitor writer on America's last log drive. Page 16.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY. To sum up his response to "Joyce Grenfell Requests the Pleasure," the Monitor reviewer quotes from Miss Grenfell's fan mail, "Dear Madam, thank you very much." Page 25.

THE QUEEN'S GOVERNORS. Australia's Governor-General Sir John Kerr is still on the receiving end of boos and eggs for his dismissal of Prime Minister Gough Whitlam. And in South Australia an aboriginal has been chosen to be the new governor — an appointment that pleases some, annoys others. Pages 7 and 30.

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FOCUS

More East Germans ask to leave

By David Mutch

Bonn
Between 50,000 and 120,000 East Germans have asked their government to grant them emigration visas in the past year. They want to live in West Germany.

Western correspondents working in East Germany, diplomats, and human rights organizations in West Germany are all reporting a remarkable trend: a considerable percentage of East Germans have lost their earlier fear of just asking directly to be let out.

Some who have made a dozen such requests unsuccessfully write to such organizations as the United Nations. A spokesman for the Society for Human Rights in Frankfurt said, "A group of 67 people from Riesa signed and sent us a petition in July this year complaining they had had no response from the authorities about their applications to emigrate."

Experts on East Germany here in West Germany give several reasons why East Germans, especially the young, are more bold in stating their desire to leave:

• Relatively speaking, there has been a liberalizing trend in East Germany that is a direct result of détente.

The treaty with West Germany has brought millions of West Germans into East Germany to visit families. The treaty states that divided families can be reunited. And in the case of marriages and funerals in-

volving immediate family, East Germans are given travel visas to West Germany. While workers, who are in very short supply in East Germany, often find it difficult to leave, retired East Germans usually have no problem in obtaining travel visas or in even moving permanently to West Germany.

• That part of the text of last summer's Helsinki declaration dealing with the freer movement of persons and ideas has been making its way to the hands of East German citizens.

The documents have been published in West Germany and are sent to East Germans who request them from human rights organizations in the West. These agreements state, for one thing, that signatory states (East Germany is one) shall review all requests of their own citizens to emigrate.

• West German television and/or radio is heard by an overwhelming majority of the 17 million East Germans, so they are aware of the rights that are being granted through international agreements their government signs.

The trend has produced some negative results. A spokesman for the Human Rights Organization in Frankfurt says that a number of the signatories of the petition in Riesa have been interviewed and warned by East German internal security police.

The state has other methods of discouraging emigration as well. The West German news magazine Der Spiegel reports that a young woman who applied to emigrate was offered a new apartment if she would withdraw her request.

In another case, according to Der Spiegel, a director of a factory tried to fire a worker who had applied to emigrate. This was not an unusual step. But in this case a factory union stepped in and said he was a good worker and that his application was his "personal business." The man was not fired.

It is impossible to say exactly how many East Germans succeed each year in obtaining permission to leave their country. The figure of 10,000 has been used often. About half of these involve reuniting of families in cases where marriage is planned. Many of the emigrants are retired and can no longer work.

Another estimated 5,000 manage to elude East German border guards and come out illegally.

There is considerable speculation as to whether the increasing pressure on the East German Government to grant visas will affect détente. This is a complicated question that will be answered by the course of events.

Meanwhile, it was recently reported that in 1975 150,000 more people left West Germany than emigrated into it. Given overcrowding and unemployment here, the freedom to emigrate, there is no problem that arises from this trend. It might say it just makes more room in East Germany for those who want to come out.

Britain's drought washes out

By Francis Renny
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

London
With flooding in York, parts of Devon and Cornwall and North Wales, there have been unkind jokes in Whitehall that Denis Howell the Drought Minister may shortly be redesignated as Flood Minister. "At least it didn't take him long to get rained out of a job," commented a civil servant from the worldly wise department of Agriculture.

But if nothing else, the luckless — or perhaps, rather, lucky — Mr. Howell has been washed out of a situation which almost no human agency could alleviate, to become a sym-

VIEW FROM LONDON

bol of longer term needs which really can be tackled. If the British public largely failed to appreciate that there is no nationwide trunk system through which water could be switched like gas or electricity, then at least plans are being studied for systems which could be employed if the drought circumstances are repeated in the future. This would be a question not so much of digging enormous pipelines into



By Derek G. Williams

A return to duck-pleasing weather

restrictions on people and then expected them to pay more for less. Even angrier protests have come from Wales, where Welsh nationalists have made much of the fact that some parts of the country are still without water.

There would seem to be some evidence that certain public authorities — with an eye to nationalizing the surviving privately owned companies — thought it politically bad publicity to introduce restrictions as early as they should have done. Others again tried to be "fair" by imposing restrictions on everybody, when in fact only small pockets of their territory were short.

This only generated disbelief and ill will. In its anxiety not to have people letting their taps run the government kept releasing statements to the effect that there would have to be a great deal more rain well into the New Year before the rainfall "deficit" had been made good. Not only are the actual figures open to debate (for the fact is, nobody is quite sure what the formula is which balances rainfall, soil saturation, underground water, and river flow and evaporation), but the excusable inability of the pub-

lic to understand them is liable to dampen confidence in future pronouncements.

"People are going to be much less easy in 1977," said one official.

Meanwhile, nature seems to be hard at work restoring its averages over the long haul. Most regions had between three and four times their normal rainfall for September, and had the unusual rainfall for the whole of October within its first week. So far the temperatures have been reasonably mild and there has been, in many parts, a rush of late grass and herbage making up for lost time. It has not been too late for hay-making, but dairy herds have benefited and sugar beet has been kept in the ground to put on weight. The genius of British farmer has saved far more from drought than one would have thought possible, and the harvest home festivals in some areas have had almost their usual gaiety.

Apples and pears may have been disappointingly small, but most consumers of the native English Coxes, Worcester, and Blenheim will agree that this year's crop has been without equal in a long time.

U.S. scolded for energy waste

By Jim Browning
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Paris
Energy experts shake their heads with concern when they talk about the patchwork American energy conservation program.

The International Energy Agency (IEA) has recently published a report effectively warning that the United States is still living in a dream world of cheap energy which will not last much longer.

Unless things change, the U.S. faces a painful awakening, it says.

Contradictory as it may sound, the IEA says the solution is to gradually raise gas and oil prices to perhaps twice what they are now.

It is a proposal which both U.S. and international energy experts sadly expect to be ignored because it is almost impossible to persuade the American people it is good for them, especially during a presidential election campaign.

The Democrats oppose price increases, and the Republican administration, as the IEA noted with regret, has shelved its commitment to further oil price increases.

The Ford administration remains officially committed to raising oil prices to world market levels, however, and the people who developed that policy also had much to do with the report just published by the American-led IEA.

The IEA points out that the U.S. and Canada (which has similarly cheap prices) use almost half the energy consumed by the Western industrial world. The report argues that as much as 50 percent of total American energy use could be saved if conservation efforts were better.

While a gallon of gas costs around 60 cents in the U.S., the price has just been raised to over \$2 here in France, where almost all oil must be imported from the Middle East. The French have placed a heavy tax on gasoline in a concerted and unpopular effort to force conservation.

There is evidence that higher gasoline prices do not lead people to drive less, but they do provide an incentive for other conservation activities.

"It is not just by chance," argues one analyst here, "that Europeans have small, light cars." If Americans were paying higher gasoline prices, the IEA believes, they would set their carbuyers for more fuel efficiency and less spectacular takeoffs from the stoplight.



Roof tops, Madrid

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Madrid's lights dim — but not the television sets

Madrid loses some of its glow

By Joe Gandelman
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The rain in Spain falls darkly on the plain — at least in Madrid, that is.

With soaring energy bills, underlying fears of another possible Arab oil embargo, and a generally ailing economy, Spain's once glittering, throbbing capital now will have to throb without the glitter.

Starting Oct. 25 Madrid, in keeping with the government's goal of energy conservation, has been thrust into half-darkness after 8 p.m. on orders of the city authorities. The partial blackout has not dimmed the city's nightlife completely but some of the glow is gone.

Many neon signs on stores are turned off.

Various city buildings have been reduced to half-light. Madrid monuments also have cut illumination, except for the Prado Museum, which houses one of the world's largest collections of Goya's. It is kept search-light bright — for security reasons.

Call goes out to save

The steps are far from symbolic. Throughout Spain town and city governments have been asked to act to reduce energy consumption. The energy crisis has turned the country's economy topsy-turvy.

The oil price hike severely hurt the technocrat engineered "economic miracle" achieved in the period from 1959-73 when the growth rate, at 7 percent, was second only to Japan's. A 1973 \$500 million trade surplus became a \$2.1 billion trade deficit — one of the largest in the world.

Thus, earlier this month Madrid, in a move to try and trim the \$4.3 billion oil bill, set 62 m.p.h. speed limits and ordered television transmissions ended by 11:30 p.m.

Government criticized

The energy conservation program seems to be generally observed by the people, but there are complaints that the government itself is defaulting.

Ornamental fountains outside some official buildings have remained lit well beyond official deadlines. Television continues transmissions until midnight, despite the 11:30 deadline.

This has not set well with the Spanish press. "End municipal example," grumbled the Madrid daily *Diario 16*. "If commercial Madrid — the citizens of Madrid — can turn off lights at the established hour, then why can't the municipality do the same?"

Washington's new man in Bonn

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Bonn
The new U.S. Ambassador to West Germany, Walter J. Stoessel Jr., has arrived here to take up his appointment. A specialist in East European affairs, he is also well informed about Western Europe. He will present his credentials Oct. 27.

Mr. Stoessel was ambassador to the Soviet Union from January, 1974, until appointed to Bonn.

Experience in Soviet affairs is directly helpful for the top U.S. diplomat in West Germany. German affairs are given top priority by the Soviet Union, and history has given the Russians an almost chronic preoccupation with Germans.

regularly to deal with the many questions about Berlin.

Mr. Stoessel took up his earlier appointment in Moscow at the height of U.S. efforts to increase its influence in the Arab world vis-à-vis the Soviet Union.

He served as ambassador to Poland from 1968 to '72. While there he held key talks with Peking representatives which helped prepare Henry Kissinger's secret trip to Peking from Pakistan. These preparations led to President Nixon's China visit in 1972.

Mr. Stoessel, who studied in 1959-60 at the Harvard Center for International Affairs — then directed by Dr. Kissinger — is considered an insider at the State Department, one of the group of men who are highly trusted by the present Secretary of State.

The new Ambassador, a career Foreign Service officer, first served in Germany from 1950 to 1952 as a political officer with the U.S. High Commission. He was in Paris at the U.S. Embassy from 1958 to '59. He gained NATO experience when assigned in 1961 as political adviser to the Supreme Allied Commander Europe, a post he held until 1963. He also has served in Washington as Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs.

'We moderates control Portugal,' says Soares

By Helen Gibson
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon
Prime Minister Mario Soares used the platform of the Socialist national congress earlier this month to insist that he and his party's moderate wing — not the Marxist one — hold the key to the future of the party and Portugal.

The congress, attended by thousands of delegates and more than 150 observers from 15 countries, opened amid intense national speculation over the now open split in the party between moderates and a Marxist flank led by Agriculture Minister Antonio Lopes Cardoso.

In a two-hour opening speech, the calm, impeccably dressed Mr. Soares admitted the rift and said that although divergence of opinions in the party was healthy within limits, these limits had now been reached and it was time to call "basis" (enough). He called for the party's total support for the minority government in the future rather than for "this or that minister or measure."

"Ambiguity may be all right for the opposition parties but can be paralyzing and even fatal for a governing party," Mr. Soares told the crowded Sports Pavilion.

As for all the parties, one of the Socialist's main preoccupations is the extremely important nationwide local elections to be held in December.

Mr. Soares's lambasting of the Communist Party in his review of the past two years events in Portugal and the overwhelming number of moderates in relation to Marxists appointed to the various party committees, left no doubt which faction had come out on top.

The arrival of such European socialist leaders as France's Francois Mitterrand, West Germany's Willy Brandt, Austria's Bruno Kreisky, and Sweden's Olof Palme — all known as Mr. Soares's good friends — lent weight to the Prime Minister's bid to consolidate the moderates' control in the party.

The independent weekly newspaper *Expresso* speculated that Mr. Soares's show of strength at the congress would not go unrewarded in American circles. The newspapers said that a promised \$200 million to \$400 million American loan would be considerably eased once the congress was over and Mr. Soares's position firmly restated.

Europe

Russian hierarchy stays put

Brezhnev still No. 1 at legislative session

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor



Kosygin: still in favor

Moscow
At the far end of the Kremlin Palace hall, so vast that three aircraft hangers could be fitted in with room to spare, sat the rulers of the Soviet Union in three tiers of dark blue suits. With TV lights flashing from the gold medals pinned to their jackets, they read documents, chatted, doodled, and listened to the work of the Supreme Soviet (legislature) beginning in front of them. Their lineup signaled to the rest of the world that:

• The time for outward confirmation of reported maneuvering for succession to jovial, animated party Secretary Leonid Brezhnev still did not come. The only new face belonged to an industrial manager little known until this week: Yakov P. Ryabov. As a newly elected member of the party Secretariat (and 22 years younger than Mr. Brezhnev), he was among the leaders for the first time. He sat in the front row right across the center aisle from Mr. Brezhnev himself.

• Although Premier Alexei Kosygin did not step forward to deliver the main speech on the latest five-year plan as he had done for the previous plan (in 1971), he was clearly still in favor with Mr. Brezhnev. He sat beside the party leader during the legislative session, chatting and smiling, turning now and then to exchange words with head of state Nikolai Podgorniy on his right. Speculation is that Mr. Kosygin is headed for honorable retirement some time next year.

• Defense spending for next year is down 200 million rubles to 17.2 billion rubles (about \$23 billion). This is seen by Western analysts, not as a true indication of the defense budget (which is swelled by large sums in other categories), but as a sign that the Kremlin does want more talks on disarmament — and a reminder that, although the U.S. defense budget is going up, the Kremlin wants to go the opposite way. A similar cut was made two years ago.

Westerners were puzzled by the lack of changes in the leadership ranks after the Central Committee meeting earlier in the week. They had expected a clue to Mr. Kosygin's future and the promotion of newly appointed First Deputy Premier Nikolai A. Tikhonov to

at least nonvoting membership of the Politburo. But none of this happened.

It could be an intended contrast to elections in the West, said one analyst, or it could be that Mr. Brezhnev feels so well and so much in command that he has simply postponed succession changes until later. But he cannot postpone them for long, analysts believe.

The single new man may owe his promotion and his prominent place on the dais to his work in reorganizing heavy industry in the Sverdlovsk area (which is closed to Westerners, presumably because of defense plants there). On Jan. 17 Mr. Ryabov wrote an article in Pravda, the Communist Party newspaper, about successes in amalgamating smaller plants into large ones.

This has led to speculation that he will be doing the same things on a broader scale now — or that he may be moving into the role long played by Secretariat member Dimitri F. Ustinov, who was appointed Minister of Defense earlier this year. Mr. Ustinov's departure from the Secretariat, although expected, was not announced.

Mr. Ryabov is known to be a protégé of Mr. Brezhnev's heir apparent, Andrei P. Kirilenko. In the early 1960s he was active in the Sverdlovsk city party apparatus.

W. German generals fired for defending Nazi flier

By David Match
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Bonn
In firing two top Air Force generals for defending a Nazi wartime air ace, West German Defense Minister Georg Leber has driven home the point that military tradition and comradeship must be subordinate to political judgment and civilian rule.

The men dismissed were the Air Force's second highest-ranking officer, Lt. Gen. Walter Krupinsky, and his deputy, Maj. Gen. Karl-Heinz Franke.

They were fired for remarks made to report-

ers about a recent squadron reunion at a German air base. Germany's most decorated World War II airman, Stuka pilot Hans-Ulrich Rudel, appeared at the rally. He is said to have been one of Hitler's favorite pilots.

The political black mark against this pilot, however, is that even after 1945 he defended Hitler, as the newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung describes it, "long after everyone had to know about the crimes of the National Socialist (Nazi) government."

The generals defended Mr. Rudel's appearance at the gathering. General Krupinsky had flown with Mr. Rudel during the war. Political observers said the two officers

munist policies. Rarely, however, since the short-lived "liberal" phase of the church taken so vigorously — and accepted — in 1956, has the church taken so vigorous a stand.

Not since that initial brief period has Poland's Communist leadership shown such concern to secure the church's goodwill and cooperation in its social and economic problems.

Edward Giersek took over in December, 1971, after Mr. Gomulka had antagonized all strata of Polish Society: workers and church included.

Mr. Giersek at once began what proved to be a successful party-to-people dialogue. He returned to the church buildings and lands sequestered after the war. Renewal of Poland's contacts with the Vatican followed.

Disagreements resurfaced. More recently, old disagreements resurfaced. Relations already were cooler when the food price riots shook the nation. The upshot, however, has been a remarkable show of conciliatory attitudes by both party leadership and episcopate.

The childrenmen make clear they still expect more legwork over new churches, religious teaching, and publications before a fully normal accord is possible.

But on the price controversy the bishops presented a balanced view. They urged government "understanding" of the public dismay that accompanied the famine and urged the public

to exercise restraint. They proposed amnesty for the convicted.

At their most recent episcopal conference they went further, openly recognizing the government's problems and its need to stimulate public support in an extremely difficult economic situation.

Appeal for amnesty renewed. They renewed the appeal for amnesty but urged all Poles to make sacrifices for the common good and to preserve the order. Only by common effort can we overcome the difficulties our country is facing," they concluded.

Mr. Giersek, meanwhile, was saying much the same thing and making strong appeals to Polish patriotism. He asserted the church is counted among the patriots and as part of the united Poland needed in a situation, which, he warns, has no easy answer.

His attitude has been conciliatory all round. Nothing has been said of additional trials arising from the riots. He has spoken firmly of "fruitful cooperation" between church and state in working for "important national goals."

If it confirms the regime's anxiety to restore its national reputation, and the church's support can certainly help. On the church's side, better prospects for concessions. But the way the two are using similar language is somewhat unusual — perhaps hopeful — in Polish politics.

Hungary: 'With Kadar here everything's all right'

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Budapest
Twenty years ago this week, Janos Kadar emerged as Hungary's new Communist leader. He has been in the job ever since, and most Hungarians want him to carry on.

Last month, a party secretary and several ministers were changed. Public interest was scant. "As long as Kadar remains," an old (non-Communist) friend remarked to this writer, "everything is all right."

The comment was typical of public opinion about this Communist Party veteran. Mr. Kadar has established a remarkable degree of rapport, considering the circumstances in which he came to power.

The start could not have been more inauspicious. The Russians had overwhelmed the Hungarian uprising of October, 1956. Mr. Kadar, a member of reformist Prime Minister Imre Nagy's Cabinet when he declared Hungary's neutrality and appealed to the United Nations, had disappeared just before the final collapse of Mr. Nagy's government. After Soviet tanks had crushed all major resistance, Mr. Kadar resurfaced as head of a new government acceptable to the Soviets.

Although as a political prisoner he had been brutally mistreated by Hungary's former Stalinist regime, Mr. Kadar was regarded as a turncoat and worse for a long time after the traumatic events of 1956.

The two years of repression — the executions and the imprisonments — that followed as he re-established the Communist Party's authority did nothing to diminish this view.

But, once that task was accomplished, he initiated a slogan that introduced new attitudes and gradual reforms: both to preserve the essential communist system and to make it more palatable to the population at large.

The slogan "He who is not against us is with us" replaced the old one, "He who is not with

us is against us" that had been applied less by Hungary's postwar dictator, Rakosi. The new slogan appealed to non-people and Communists, to religious believers and nonbelievers, with assurances for all opportunities and place in public life.

Slowly it gained credibility and public support, and Mr. Kadar himself, through a style of leadership and general approach, attained a measure of popular acceptance within the Soviet bloc. There were accents on living standards as well as on economic management and an apparent degree of latitude for intellectual and artistic diversity.

Views of Mr. Kadar's 1956 role were flooded by feelings that, after all, his actions determined by knowledge that there was no alternative if any prospects of reform were salvaged from defeat.

Increasingly, he has been seen as a man who understood better than any other the ills of reform under the Russian yoke in Eastern Europe. The tragic events in Czechoslovakia 12 years later demonstrated those ills.

Mr. Kadar's prudence in this regard has been evident ever since in his careful advance of commitments to the Soviet Union's East bloc alliance and in cautious, step-by-step domestic reforms that do not challenge Russian conservatism unduly.

A confirmation of this success with a kind of atmosphere it has produced in Hungary's internationally known writer, Dery, in a Western television film about Hungary to mark the 20th anniversary of the uprising.

Mr. Dery, an octogenarian who continues to write, was himself jailed for supporting Nagy. But he was able to tell his listeners that Mr. Nagy was "an honest man" and there is "much in Hungary today" that he has striven for.

First of two articles. Next: "Half-truths and a firm hand on dissent."

Hirohito's golden jubilee: where are the fireworks?

By Kent Calder and
Toshiko Matsura
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo
Japan will try to put aside its political turmoil Nov. 10 to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Emperor Hirohito's reign.

But it may be easier said than done. The first royal golden jubilee since Queen Victoria's in 1887, this one will underscore the fact that Emperor Hirohito — whom many expected to be deposed and executed 30 years ago as a war criminal — now is the most senior head of state in the world.

Considering the historical momentousness of the occasion, the celebrations here will be unpretentious. There will be no 21-gun salutes — indeed no military participation of any kind. Government employees will get only a half day off from work. Schoolchildren may not get any time off, since the teachers' union, Nikkyoso, is opposed to having the occasion celebrated.

The main official recognition will be the issuing of two commemorative stamps and a ceremony hosted by Prime Minister Takeo Miki for government officials in the Nippon Budokan Assembly Hall in Tokyo, a site normally used for sporting events and rock concerts.

Unofficially, the major observance of the jubilee will be special exhibitions in department stores across Japan on the theme of the Emperor's reign.

Even these low-key observances, however, are generating considerable political opposition. At the center of the controversy is the Socialist Party Governor of Tokyo, Ryokichi Minobe. Mr. Minobe's father once went to prison for suggesting, contrary to official doctrine at the time, that the Emperor was not divine. The younger Mr. Minobe, protesting that he could not celebrate the first 20 years (1926-1945) of the Emperor's reign, announced even before being formally invited to the jubilee that he would not attend.

In chorus with Mr. Minobe, the Communist Party members of the Diet (Parliament) — who, out of principle, never attend its opening ceremony because of the Emperor's presence — announced that they opposed commemorating the jubilee and implied that they would not attend either. Thirty-million people, they asserted, had been killed in the Emperor's name during World War II, and participants in the jubilee ceremony would tacitly be condoning militarism and allowing attention to be diverted from the Lockheed payoff scandal that has rocked this country since February.

On the other hand, the ultra-right, many of



The Emperor and Empress receiving guests in their garden

The celebration will be small — with all due respect

whose members are World War II veterans, think that the ceremony should not be held because it would damage the Emperor's dignity if presided over by what they consider "effete politicians" such as Mr. Miki.

Then, too, there is the ultra-left, which is said to be making plans to disrupt the ceremony. Already there has been one abortive fire-bomb attack (Oct. 13) on the Imperial Palace. Police leaves are being canceled, and a full state of alert is planned for the duration of the jubilee period.

Coming as it does just one month before general elections must be held here, the jubilee seems certain to have a significant effect on national politics. In the view of observers, the event is buttressing the position of hard-pressed Prime Minister Miki by giving him the prestige of directing preparations and by postponing his resignation. To many Japanese, deposing Mr. Miki before the jubilee would be almost unpardonable since it would be seen as rudeness toward the Emperor.

Despite the political controversy surrounding the jubilee, most Japanese seem to respect the shy, diminutive Emperor, whose first love is said to be marine biology rather than affairs of state. Some 214,000 people are estimated to have trooped to the Imperial Palace last year to receive the Emperor's biannual greeting.

Behind the popular respect for the Emperor are both the weight of Confucian-Shintoist tradition and his record of sacrifice for his people. It is widely thought that he himself made the fateful decision that Japan surrender at the end of World War II, thus sparing his people much suffering at the prospective cost

of his own life. Following the surrender he never attempted to flee or go into hiding, and he shared the rigors of military occupation with his subjects as he had those of the war.

More powers given Mrs. Gandhi

By the Associated Press

New Delhi
The lower house of the Indian Parliament, with most opposition lawmakers boycotting, passed a constitutional amendment Nov. 2 giving Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's government virtually unrestricted executive powers.

With only four dissenting votes, the house gave approval to the sweeping amendment, which the government says will speed a social and economic revolution and the opposition says will institutionalize dictatorship.

The amendment, revivifying the preamble and 59 clauses of India's 25-year-old democratic charter, curtails the powers of the judiciary to enforce civil liberties and review legislation and enables the government to ban "anti-national" groups and activities.

The 368-to-4 vote, with the formality of upper house approval Nov. 3, came three days after the government announced the postponement of national elections for at least another year.

Communists use church teaching to calm crisis

By Eric Bourne

Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Warsaw, Poland
"Solid work is a moral obligation, and ability to make sacrifices — a Christian virtue."

Words like these make unusual reading in a Communist-controlled press, but this statement appeared in many Polish newspapers otherwise preoccupied with the government view of Poland's current pressing economic difficulties.

It was excerpted from a communiqué issued by the Roman Catholic Episcopate in September. The passage quoted continued: "Honest work and sacrifice hinge on confidence in the authorities, who can gain this confidence through true care for the good of all citizens."

It was featured in a report circulated by the official Polish News Agency and carried by Warsaw radio and almost all the national Polish newspapers.

Rarely if ever before in postwar Poland had a church pronouncement of this kind been published by the official media. It added emphasis to two significant developments arising from the workers' angry reactions over the sensitive food prices issue last June.

Critic of policies
Ever since World War II, the Polish primate, Stefan Cardinal Wyszyński, has been a frequent outspoken critic of Com-

munist policies. Rarely, however, since the short-lived "liberal" phase of the church taken so vigorously — and accepted — in 1956, has the church taken so vigorous a stand.

Not since that initial brief period has Poland's Communist leadership shown such concern to secure the church's goodwill and cooperation in its social and economic problems.

Edward Giersek took over in December, 1971, after Mr. Gomulka had antagonized all strata of Polish Society: workers and church included.

Mr. Giersek at once began what proved to be a successful party-to-people dialogue. He returned to the church buildings and lands sequestered after the war. Renewal of Poland's contacts with the Vatican followed.

Disagreements resurfaced. More recently, old disagreements resurfaced. Relations already were cooler when the food price riots shook the nation. The upshot, however, has been a remarkable show of conciliatory attitudes by both party leadership and episcopate.

The childrenmen make clear they still expect more legwork over new churches, religious teaching, and publications before a fully normal accord is possible.

But on the price controversy the bishops presented a balanced view. They urged government "understanding" of the public dismay that accompanied the famine and urged the public

to exercise restraint. They proposed amnesty for the convicted.

At their most recent episcopal conference they went further, openly recognizing the government's problems and its need to stimulate public support in an extremely difficult economic situation.

Appeal for amnesty renewed. They renewed the appeal for amnesty but urged all Poles to make sacrifices for the common good and to preserve the order. Only by common effort can we overcome the difficulties our country is facing," they concluded.

Mr. Giersek, meanwhile, was saying much the same thing and making strong appeals to Polish patriotism. He asserted the church is counted among the patriots and as part of the united Poland needed in a situation, which, he warns, has no easy answer.

His attitude has been conciliatory all round. Nothing has been said of additional trials arising from the riots. He has spoken firmly of "fruitful cooperation" between church and state in working for "important national goals."

If it confirms the regime's anxiety to restore its national reputation, and the church's support can certainly help. On the church's side, better prospects for concessions. But the way the two are using similar language is somewhat unusual — perhaps hopeful — in Polish politics.

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Asia

Can Vietnam recover its lost 'fighting will'?

By William P. Latch
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Bangkok, Thailand
Vietnam may be about to significantly shake up its ruling Workers Party because of what is described as the "bewitching" of party cadres by a materialistic life-style, resulting in their loss of "fighting will."

These indications come from recent issues of Hoc Tap, the official organ of the Vietnamese Communist Party, or Workers Party (VWP) as it is properly known.

In a surprisingly candid article, VWP Politburo member Nguyen Duy Trinh says Vietnam's transition to socialism is showing "serious shortcomings" and that revolutionary change is required to remedy the situation. He attributes these shortcomings to "the decrease in the fighting will of a number of cadres" and he adds that the lack of "revolutionary qualities" has led to "ethical errors" that have had "serious political consequences throughout the country."

Exactly what errors Mr. Trinh is referring to is not clear, but the article specifically singles out party promotions that have come by virtue of personal relationships rather than personal ability and what the author terms as increasing "individualism" on the part of some cadres.

The comments of Mr. Trinh, who is also the Foreign Minister of Vietnam, are seen by observers in Bangkok as part of a continuing campaign designed to revitalize the now-sapping revolutionary fervor of party members after a year and a half of quiescent reunification. The beginnings of the campaign were signaled by a Politburo directive issued last July calling for all goldiers and party members to re-examine their revolutionary resolve and to further strive for party unity. Since the issuing of the directive, the campaign has been reaching an increasingly intensive tempo and the Vietnamese news media these days commonly carry criticisms of party members who have taken the "wrong path" as well as discussions on the proper virtues of a good cadre.

This is attributed to the party's apparent difficulty in transforming itself from the wartime footing maintained since its inception to one in which it has complete political power but also the formidable tasks of governing and reconstructing the third largest socialist state in the world. Not the least of the new regime's problems are the psychological effects that have been nurtured by the direct contact between cadres and the remnants of the political and economic systems they succeeded in destroying after 30 years of war.

Many party members, accustomed to the austere life of a peasant revolutionary war, apparently have been impressed enough with the material abundance of the formerly capitalist Saigon that they have been lulled away from their revolutionary commitments. Another recent Hoc Tap article rebukes these members and cadres for "failing to preserve their own revolutionary qualities." This may allude to the increasing corruption of cadres reported by Vietnamese refugees, some of whom profess to have bought their way out of Indo-China.

The party leaders clearly seem concerned about the waning of revolutionary commitment and the consequences this may have for the revolution. It is not, however, a serious one since it would come at a critical juncture in the internal politics of Vietnam, whose political reunification is yet to be completely assimilated and whose rebuilding programs are reportedly encountering increasing difficulties.

Significantly, the intensification of the party's campaign in the last few months may well be intended to set the tenor for the Fourth Party Congress in mid-December. The congress will be the first since 1960, and the sweeping changes that have occurred in Indo-China and the world in the intervening years most certainly will be dealt with in the coming session.

The congress could produce the blueprint of a newly designed party that is more suited for the tasks confronting Vietnam.

The agenda calls for the establishing of a new five-year plan and the adoption of a "revolutionary socialist plan for the whole of Vietnam." These tasks, along with the election of a new Central Committee, will allow ample opportunity for the party to considerably alter its direction if deemed necessary.

The face of the Central Committee may be significantly changed as the party responds to recent criticisms by southern Vietnamese to the effect that the northerners have a disproportionate hand in the running of things. The VWP's chief of organization, Le Duc Tho, is thought to have spent the past five months in southern Vietnam, possibly recruiting more southerners for party membership. A move to bring more southerners into the ranks would be a major step toward integration of the southern region into the national governmental and political structures.



Communist cadres relaxing: the party doesn't like the picture

Korean mystery man: success and a bribery charge

By Louise Sweeney
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
The rocketing social success of Park Tong-sun on the Washington social scene made him an ideal middleman between U.S. rice dealers and the South Korean Government, says an acquaintance here of Mr. Park.

"When they saw all the press publicity about his being high society in Washington, the South Korean Government became more confident that [he] was the guy who should become the lobbyist for the government," says one Park acquaintance.

"There was no question — everyone in the Korean community knew he was involved in this rice business. But he gave a different impression to the American public, which was very naive. He is a soft-spoken type of guy, refined," and he ingratiated himself with Washingtonians, who were not aware of his true connections, says the South Korean source.

This Park acquaintance was referring to allegations that Mr. Park's party and gift-giving were financed mostly by commissions he and the South Korean Government pressed from U.S. rice dealers making federally subsidized rice sales to South Korea under the Food for Peace program.

Another acquaintance of Mr. Park's describes him as being "very polished, very smooth. . . . He gave these superb buffets, fabulous food, and . . . money was no object."

A graduate of Georgetown University who had long had roots in the Washington community, Mr. Park had helped found the posh Georgetown Club. It was the scene of many of his social gatherings.

given for House Democratic Whip Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (D) of Massachusetts. One acquaintance of Mr. Park's remembers "the smashing guests list, people from the Hill, the White House, ambassadors; few people would turn down a thing like a party for the House."

Lawyers for the South Korean mystery man, last seen in Japan, say he will return to the U.S. to face a federal grand jury probe involving allegations of bribery and influence peddling to U.S. congressmen.

"We don't have any knowledge of when he'll return, but we can tell you he didn't leave the country to escape process (serving). As far as we know, he'll be back," said Cary Feldman, a spokesman for the Washington law firm of Hundley & Cachert which represents Mr. Park. Mr. Feldman said that the firm was confident enough of his return that it "had agreed to accept process, if someone serves a subpoena" on Mr. Park. "That means, if he gets a subpoena and did not appear, we would be subject to contempt" proceedings, Mr. Feldman explained.

"We are denying that Mr. Park ever made any illegal contributions," says legal spokesman Feldman. He added that Mr. Park had left the country on a business trip before the investigation began.

The investigation could involve as many as 90 members of Congress whose names were found with notations of possible contribution when Mr. Park was stopped by customs agents in Alaska in 1973.

Mr. Park is alleged to be at the center of a band of South Korean agents working under orders from South Korean President Park Chung Hee, who gave between \$500,000 and \$1 million a year in gifts, cash, and campaign contributions to U.S. congressmen and other government officials.

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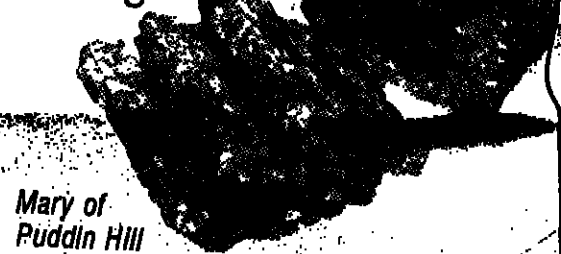
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United States

Windmills: heyday yet to come

By David F. Salisbury

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Warren, Vermont
Half a dozen small windmills spun furiously in the gusty, autumn wind.

They looked puny against the scale of scudding clouds and the rising slope of the White Mountains. Yet, within the next decade, wind machines similar to these may be supplying a significant portion of America's energy needs.

"This industry is in about the same place as aviation was in 1914," said Louis Divone, acting chief of wind energy conversion at the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), gazing at the towers and whirling blades.

Aviation pioneers realized that the airplane would bring revolutionary changes, he continued, but it was difficult to see that by looking at the crude constructions of cloth, wood, and wire that they were building and flying.

But only 10 years later, two U.S. Army pilots had flown around the world. And by 1924, sleek, all-metal, and efficient airplanes swept the older-style planes out of the sky.

Mr. Divone is convinced that the technology for catching the wind and putting it to work has reached a similar threshold, and in the next few years will go through a period of rapid change and growth. In the ERDA's latest national energy plan, it is estimated that wind systems may be churning out power equivalent to 6 million barrels of petroleum a year by 1985. And this could mushroom to over 400 million barrels a year by the end of the century.

The primitive wind generators which had prompted Mr. Divone's remarks had been erected for the annual meeting of the American Wind Energy Association, where he outlined the federal wind-energy program.

In its three-year lifetime, the conference has steadily grown. The first meeting was "a handful of people getting together in a basement in Detroit," recalled Don Mayer, founder of North Wind Power Company here. More than 250 people attended this year's event.

Wind power has found its strongest advocates on college campuses and in the ranks of individual inventor/entrepreneurs.



A new age of wind energy is on the way

By Barth J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

University scientists have done advanced theoretical calculations and studies while people in small companies, like North Wind Power, have been learning what it takes to put together reliable wind-energy systems.

"Wind machines are not as simple as they look," a number of the people at the conference commented, but a mood of optimism pervaded the gathering.

"I think there will be a real breakthrough in the next four or five years," said Mr. Mayer. He thinks this will come about because electronic switching devices have been developed which "condition" a wind generator's power to make it com-

patible with the electrical utility system.

"The enthusiasts have gotten more realistic and the cynics have begun to see the potential," said Ned Coffin of EnerTech, a Norwich, Connecticut, distributor. He feels there already is a large market for windpower in remote locations. Penetrating this market will allow manufacturers to produce in larger volume and reduce equipment costs, he suggests.

Meanwhile, the federal government is concentrating on giant windmills. A year ago a generator was erected with 60-foot rotors. More recently, General Electric was awarded a contract for an even larger machine.

No, no, it's next month that Americans choose their president

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
You think the Americans have just voted for the President of the United States. They haven't; they've voted for one of the 538 electors who comprise the electoral college. The college elects the president.

Most Americans voters thought the presidential election was on the first Tuesday after the first Monday of November. It isn't; it's on December 13, 1976, when the electors meet in their state capitals; their votes will be sent to Washington where they will be opened before a ceremonial joint session of Congress, Jan. 6, 1977.

You thought that under the American sys-

tem the candidate who gets the most popular votes in November beats his opponent.

Not necessarily so — particularly not in a close election. Popular votes are one thing; electoral college votes are another.

Perhaps you think that if a state elects a slate of Democratic electors (or the other way around) they have to vote for the Democratic candidate? Not at all. The Founding Fathers firmly declared that electors should have freedom of choice; some have exercised this privilege in recent times.

— In 1874, Gov. Samuel Tilden (D) of New York got 260,000 more popular votes than Rutherford B. Hayes (R) of Ohio but lacked one vote of a majority in the electoral college. A 16-man commission voting on partisan lines, 8 to 7, awarded contested electors to Hayes, making him president.

— In 1888, Grover Cleveland (D) got 100,000 more popular votes than Benjamin Harrison (R) of Indiana. But Harrison got 277 electors to 169 for Cleveland, making him president.

In 1976 there was no strong third-party candidate in the field. This reduced the chances of a divided election. Article II of the Constitution requires:

"... the person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed. . . ."

It is the requirement of "majority" (in today's terms, 270 electors out of 538) that is one hurdle for popular rule. In 1968, for example, George Wallace won 46 electoral votes, which almost gave him the balance of power. If nobody gets an electoral majority the elec-

tion is thrown into the House of Representatives where each state has one vote, regardless of size.

Thomas Jefferson in 1823 called the electoral college "the most dangerous blot on our Constitution" and he warned "that some unhappy chance will some day hit."

In 1969, after the Nixon-Humphrey election had almost been thrown into the House, the House of Representatives approved a constitutional amendment, 339-70, to replace the electoral college with direct popular voting. In the Senate, however, the urgency had evaporated and nothing was done.

Students watch attentively each four years to see if the 1876 and 1888 crises will be repeated. "Almost — but not quite," they murmur after close elections.

Commentary: Mr. Carter's opportunity

By Joseph C. Harsch

For an ambitious young man who would like to go down in history as a good and constructive President, Jimmy Carter has a better than

chance. The United States at the present moment is in a state of stagnation, which was of course a partisan interpretation. A fair way of putting it is that the United States has been through a long period of strenuous activity, which left it in need of a period of rest and recuperation, or just a plain vacation from effort.

Looking back Americans should all agree now that Jerry Ford was substantially what his country needed at the time. The leaders of the Congress who picked him out of their own midst as a receiver in bankruptcy chose well. His job was, first, to restore confidence in the integrity of the federal government in Washington; second, to give the country a respite from the drain of overcommitment overseas; and, third, to repair the damage to the American economy caused by the enormous cost of the Vietnam war and the unexpected

shock of the oil embargo and the rise in the price of oil.

He did the first extremely well. He did the second reasonably well. He did the third poorly. The Congress had to tell him firmly not to spend a penny for Indo-China, and nothing for Angola. But in the end he could point with pride during the election campaign to the fact that no American soldier was in combat anywhere in the world. And I suspect that even critics of his economic policy will agree that his handling of the economic situation was probably just about right.

In other words, Gerald Ford did well what his was hired to do, got the United States back on an even keel and working again. The country is vastly better off than it was on the day he took over from Richard Nixon. He deserves his country's grateful thanks. To ask any more of him than that would be unfair. And he probably wasn't the right man for more. His experience has been in making the political machine work, but not in giving it direction.

Well, the machine is in working order again, but it does not have any real sense of direc-

tion. The United States today is like the man just back from vacation. He is rested and ready to start working again. But he doesn't know what to do.

Jimmy Carter, in his nomination acceptance speech, said:

"I see an America on the move again, united, a diverse and vital and tolerant nation, an America that lives up to the majesty of our Constitution and the simple decency of our people."

The power of concentration and the pursuit of a purpose are tools. So far, Mr. Carter's purpose has been to get the country back on the right track. Getting the nomination was in itself a remarkable achievement. Winning the election was harder by far than the earlier opinion polls seemed to indicate. It is no easy task to take the election away from a man as friendly and forthright as Gerald Ford, who has also been a good, effective and quite successful President. There was a powerful inclination in the electorate to stay with what they had rather than take a chance on the unknown.

But they have decided to take a chance on the unknown man, obviously in the hope that he will have a new sense of direction and will begin to put to use the enormous capacity of the United States for good work both for its own people and for the world.

There is plenty of work to be done. There is a superb opportunity for a man of Mr. Carter's caliber to make a brilliant career of it.

Rapid crowding of earth slackens off

By Louise Sweeney
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The population of Spaceship Earth, now about 4 billion, is still growing. But the rate of growth has slowed so dramatically over the past five years that a long-predicted doubling of the population may not occur.

Lester R. Brown, president of Worldwatch Institute, says a new survey indicates that falling birthrates and rising death rates in some areas of the world have caused a braking of world population growth, which peaked in the early 1970s.

"I would not be surprised if the world population never again doubled, despite the standard rhetoric of UN and political speechwriters," said Dr. Brown. Demographers had previously believed that a world population of 10 to 15 billion would be reached before a leveling off began, he noted.

Dr. Brown's comments were made as

Worldwatch, an international research organization based here, released its latest study, "World Population Trends: Signs of Hope, Signs of Stress."

The study, written by Dr. Brown, found that the drop in population growth is two-edged. It includes falling birthrates in three major population areas (Western Europe, North America, and East Asia) and rising death rates from food shortages in parts of Asia (India, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka) as well as sections of Africa.

World population in 1970 reached 3.5 billion and last year it was up to 3.9 billion. But the survey points out that the rate of growth has slowed by 5 million people a year, plummeting from an annual increase of 60 million in 1970 to an annual increase of 64 million in 1975.

In percentages the growth rate has dipped from 1.9 percent to 1.64 percent, the first major decline in world history.

Mr. Brown attributes the falling birthrate to "the widening availability of family planning

services, including contraception and abortion."

The survey notes that the U.S. population growth rate unexpectedly plunged by one-third between 1970 and '75. Mr. Brown attributes the lower rate in part to "unanticipated social factors" beyond family planning. These include "a decline in the marriage rate, women increasingly moving into the labor market (now up to 42 percent), the changing concept young women have of themselves and what they want to do." He pointed out that female enrollments have doubled since 1970 in some graduate schools.

The Worldwatch survey indicates a startling drop in the birthrate in China, which makes up one-fifth of the world's population, from 32 to 19 births per thousand persons. He calls it the "most rapid national drop ever recorded for a five-year span." Mr. Brown describes Chinese Government family planning as "the most aggressive anywhere in the world."

The survey notes that East Asia's population

growth rate is down one-third, largely because of China, and that the North American rate is also down a third. The West European rate has been cut in half. As of 1975, four countries, East Germany, West Germany, Luxembourg, and Austria, brought West European population growth to a halt.

The Worldwatch survey also says that a decline in world food stocks during the 1970s has resulted in a rising death rate from prolonged hunger in poorer countries. In India, for instance, the estimate for 1972 was 1 million deaths from food scarcity.

Mr. Brown points out that the world food surplus of the '50s and '60s are gone in the '70s; in 1972, world consumption of grain exceeded production for the first time.

In 1970, grain reserves amounted to 89 days of world consumption; now they're down to 30 days, which Mr. Brown calls "just a pipeline supply."

The Worldwatch survey says the resulting food shortage has killed the most individuals.



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MONITOR ADVERTISERS

From page 1

*Mr. Carter goes to Washington

Aides say Mr. Carter probably will go to Washington within two weeks to begin work on the transition toward his take-over Jan. 20. He is likely to spend three or four days a week in the capital until his inauguration.

Actually, Mr. Carter began work for a possible assumption of power last summer when he assembled a 16-member transition team in Atlanta.

The team, headed by young Atlanta lawyer Jack Watson, has assembled a lengthy list of possible appointees to a Carter administration. The names have been arranged by areas of interest, experience, background — a catalog of talent that Mr. Carter can draw upon for hundreds of appointments in the next few months.

Mr. Watson's team has also studied areas that will need quick Carter attention — such as 147 pieces of legislation that expire next year. They have also studied international treaties which will go out of existence unless Mr. Carter acts quickly upon taking office.

Long road traveled

Mr. Carter's record-breaking odyssey for the White House carried him 461,245 miles to 1,029 cities and towns. He made 1,495 speeches. He began almost alone, flying in a tourist-class seat across the country nearly two years ago, and winding up with his own Boeing 727 jet with air to ground computer terminal and a campaign staff that topped 700 persons.

After his unprecedented public exposure, Mr. Carter now is expected to submerge himself in his new job. Close aides suggest that

public appearances will be relatively few in the first year, although he will hold regular press conferences.

His first, and perhaps most important task, will be the selection of his Cabinet and other high-level appointees. He has given no significant hints of the eventual choices.

Some names have been bandied about by political observers, but these are not necessarily indicative of the eventual choices.

Among those mentioned for Secretary of State, for example, have been James Schlesinger, the former Secretary of Defense, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, a Columbia University professor. Mr. Schlesinger has also been mentioned for the Defense job.

Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Automobile Workers, was instrumental in Mr. Carter's early primary victories, and must be considered a prime choice for Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Lawrence Klein of the University of Pennsylvania has been Mr. Carter's chief economic consultant. He might be in line for the Council of Economic Advisers, if he wants it.

Andrew Young, the congressman who rallied critical black support around Mr. Carter in the early days of the campaign, probably could have any job he wants, says a Carter aide laughingly. Mr. Young says he wants nothing, but observers suggest he may eventually become ambassador to the United Nations.

Those who know Mr. Carter best expect him to be an activist president. He will work hard

for what he wants, and he will pull any power levers that he can get his hand on.

If Congress resists Mr. Carter, they can expect an all-out fight. Some observers are expecting Mr. Carter to have a short political honeymoon.

Shaking the status quo

With a heavily Democratic Congress, Mr. Carter might be expected to enjoy smooth going; but this isn't necessarily so.

The President-Elect speaks vehemently of shaking up the status quo. Although he is wealthy himself, he expresses compassion for the poor, the sick, the underprivileged. He vows to be their spokesman in the halls of government.

Special interest groups — like the oil and gas industry, autos, defense, transportation — are deeply entrenched in Congress. Many of Mr. Carter's aims go directly against their financial interest, and they can be expected to turn to Congress as a brake on this Georgia activist.

One of the roughest confrontations could involve the federal bureaucracy. Mr. Carter is expected to seek blanket authority to remodel the bureaucracy — slashing agencies and bureaus from the books, and redrawing the lines of power.

He has pledged to cut the present 1,900 federal agencies to only 200. If he goes through with that, some observers think there could be a fireworks display bigger than anything seen during the bicentennial celebration.

From page 1

*Without Kissinger

Carter administration, but there is as yet no reason to expect a decisive change in the American role. The general situation in the Middle East is evolving now toward a moment, perhaps six months away, when Arabs and Israelis will both be ready for a try at a decisive diplomatic settlement of their 30-year-old hostility.

The Arabs are moving toward a new unity. Under the skilful leadership of Saudi Arabia the rift between Egypt and Syria has been mended. The fighting in Lebanon has been decisive in reducing the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) to a weapon subject to Syrian control. It is now a bargaining power in Arab hands.

The Israelis know that the decisive negotiation lies ahead. They too are getting their negotiating position in order. There will be a moment when Washington will expect them to make the territorial concessions without which no permanent settlement is conceivable. The only question is whether Mr. Carter and his new secretary of state will be as willing as Dr. Kissinger to play the necessary American role.

Among professional diplomats there is some concern that Mr. Carter compromised his ability in this respect by remarks during the political campaign which sounded too anti-Arab and too pro-Israel to permit a balanced American role. But experts who have examined the text carefully say that Mr. Carter never threw away his ability to push for a settlement within the boundaries of United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, which contemplates a substantial return to the pre-1976 frontiers of Israel.

A preliminary test of the Carter posture toward the Middle East will come before the inauguration when the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries meets on Dec. 15 in Qatar. This meeting will almost certainly mean another rise in the price of Arabian oil. Mr. Carter's attitude toward this expectable event will test his ability to keep within negotiating range of the Arabs.

One change there will be. Dr. Kissinger will leave the government. The Carter commitment on that point has been categorical. When asked whether Dr. Kissinger might be staying on at the State Department after the inauguration, Mr. Carter replied that if Dr. Kissinger did not have the grace to resign he would be the first man fired. Conceivably, his successor might seek his occasional advice. But other governments might as well adjust themselves to the prospect of a time, now under three months away, when there will be a world without a Dr. Kissinger at the State Department.

The change may be painful for some, probably most for the Soviets who know him well. But not even Henry Kissinger can be Secretary of State for ever.

Opposing forces wrench at fragile Rhodesia talks

By Geoffrey Godsell
Overseas news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

These seemingly incompatible pieces of the Rhodesia jigsaw puzzle need to be fitted together, with the Geneva conference on the country's future barely under way:

- Escalating black guerrilla activity.
- The biggest hot-pursuit attack by white-led Rhodesians on black guerrilla camps across the border in Mozambique.

- Informal meetings by Britain's UN Ambassador Ivor Richard with all black and white delegations to consider fixing a date for Rhodesian independence under a black prime minister with a multiracial cabinet.
- Reported plans by Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith, chief white Rhodesian spokesman at Geneva, to return to Rhodesia because the conference is moving too slowly.

The stepped-up guerrilla activity and accompanying rhetoric from black Rhodesians in Geneva are in fact a political necessity for the black leaders participating in the conference. They run the risk of being outflanked by more radical forces opposed to negotiation if they give the impression of "selling out" to Mr. Smith (or the U.S. or Britain). For the same reason they must avoid giving the impression of receiving as a bestowal from whites the independence and political control of their country which they deem to be theirs by right.

One of those African leaders, Bishop Abel Muzorewa, but it bluntly on the second day of the conference: "We have come to this conference fully aware of our strength. [We are] not here in a spirit of give and take. We have come here only to take our country."

On the white side, Mr. Smith has the political need to assure his constituency in Rhodesia that he is not "cutting and running" or abandoning all to the "forces of barbarism, allied with communism" — as so many Rhodesian whites see the tide of African nationalism. This explains Mr. Smith's own tough talk and apparent impatience in Geneva — as well as the orders last week for the hot pursuit against black guerrilla bases in Mozambique.

There is a risk of all this wrecking the talks in Geneva. The whites could be reinforced in their conviction that they face "forces of barbarism," the blacks in their suspicion that they are facing "racists" whose only intention is to humiliate and outmaneuver them.

Yet any such strains did not prevent the surprise announcement by conference chairman Richard that all parties had agreed to meet informally Nov. 2 to discuss a date for Rhodesian independence under a black prime minister.

Mr. Smith's interpretation of his negotiations with U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger in September is that independence is to

come within two years. But the African nationalists in Geneva have indicated that they want it quicker than that — perhaps by September, 1977.

Presumably this earlier date is one that the informal session of the conference at least was looking. Whether Mr. Smith is willing to agree to it or not, his preparedness to discuss dates is a sign either of his flexibility in private — or of the pressures on him.

In addition to a long private discussion with conference chairman Richard Monday, Mr. Smith also had a private talk with U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs William Schaefele. Mr. Schaefele has been sent to Geneva by Secretary Kissinger to assist wherever he can from the wings.

When Dr. Kissinger won Mr. Smith's agreement in September to an early transfer of political power from whites to blacks in Rhodesia — where blacks outnumber whites 22 to 1 — the clinching argument from the U.S. side was that under no circumstances could the vastly outnumbered white Rhodesian minority count on American help to retain its privileged position. Mr. Schaefele's presence in Geneva alone is a reminder of this.

Black Rhodesians push for larger British role in settlement

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

The starting point of meaningful talks on Rhodesia here must be "an agreement by Britain to fix a date for independence," says Robert G. Mugabe.

Mr. Mugabe leads the most militant of the four black delegations to the Geneva conference on setting up an interim government in Rhodesia. He is generally accepted here as the spokesman for the Mozambique-based Zimbabwe People's Army. (Black Africans call Rhodesia "Zimbabwe.") He has formed a Patriotic Front with Joshua Nkomo of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union.

At the talks so far, Mr. Mugabe's consistent stand — indeed that of all four African delegations — has been for Britain to "take up its responsibilities as the colonial power."

British chairman Ivor Richard has resisted this demand, despite apparent American support for the African position. To declare Rhodesia a colony again and send out a governor 11 years after having failed to stop the white minority regime's unilateral declaration of independence would be merely to assume responsibility without power, in the British view.

Britain would become the target of conflicting demands from the various black political groupings, as well as from the white settlers.

Mr. Mugabe, who spoke at an interview with a group of American journalists Nov. 1 was severe in his attitude toward Rhodesia's white minority.

"We don't want to hear about it," he exclaimed at mention of the so-called trust fund, or safety net, that the British and American governments are trying to set up to help keep whites in Rhodesia after independence (and to indemnify those who wish to leave).

He said he wished to cause "no unnecessary suffering" to those who have until now belonged to a "privileged society." But once Zimbabwe becomes independent, all citizens who choose to stay, black or white, will be Zimbabweans. There will be no harassment, torture, nor discrimination against the whites, he says, but "let them accept the new order."

A former schoolteacher, Mr. Mugabe was educated in Roman Catholic mission schools and at Fort Hare University in South Africa, the alma mater of such well-known South African black leaders as Nelson Mandela. Mr. Mugabe made the transition from political activist to leader of an armed struggle not in one jump, he said, but almost naturally, because there was no other way out.

With Joshua Nkomo, he participated in the formation of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union. But "passive resistance and peaceful negotiations took us nowhere." So he parted from Mr. Nkomo and joined with the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole in forming ZANU, the Zimbabwe African National Union.

Mr. Mugabe was imprisoned for 10 years and released only in December, 1974, along with Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Sithole. He and Mr. Sithole chose different political paths while they were in jail.

Today, Mr. Mugabe is based in Maputo, capital of Mozambique, and serves as secretary-general of ZANU (although the deposed Mr. Sithole still claims the title of president) and spokesman for ZIPA.

A socialist, he has advocated drastic restrictions on land ownership in an independent Zimbabwe that Mr. Nkomo does not go along with. But for the immediate task of negotiating to bring about the independence of Zimbabwe, Mr. Mugabe says that he and Mr. Nkomo stand shoulder to shoulder.



Mugabe: 'No unnecessary suffering'

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From page 1

*British pound needs British help

look at Britain's economic prospects. On the basis of the team's report the IMF will decide the terms on which to grant Mr. Callaghan's request for a \$3.9 billion standby credit (the final amount Britain is entitled to draw on as a member of the fund).

The IMF team, headed by expatriate Briton Alan Whitmore, is going over the Treasury's books with a fine-tooth comb.

It is a tense, unhappy time here, mirroring the overcast skies, the damp chill of November. In Parliament, beetle-browed Denis Healey, Chancellor of the Exchequer, soldiers on, with Conservatives shouting at him to resign, and left-wing Labourites deeply suspicious he may be waging to make wounding cuts in spending on social programs in order to satisfy Britain's overseas creditors.

The pound, after declining steeply in the last week of October to below \$1.60, still bobs uncertainly in the \$1.58 to \$1.60 range, a prey to every passing rumor.

Outgoing President Ford and West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt have reiterated their faith in Britain, and there is hope here that Jimmy Carter's presidential victory will mean even greater sympathy for Britain's plight.

(Mr. Ford's Secretary of the Treasury, William Simon, has been considered one of the most hard-nosed critics of Britain's economic performance, the most unyielding advocate of traditional bankers' ways of solving balance of payments crises — by cutting public spending and squeezing the money supply.)

Fundamentally, Britain's problem is that during the past several years its manufacturing industry has not kept pace, either with the need to raise exports or with domestic demand. Imports have soared while exports have grown at a much slower rate. Since March the pound has fallen from \$2 to under \$1.60 on international exchanges, yet this has not so far stimulated exports. It has only increased the cost of imports.

After an encouraging first-quarter rise in exports this year, the second and third quarters have been disappointing. In the third quarter (July through September), Britain's imports on a sterling basis totaled \$7,319 million, or £1,185 million more than exports. Inflation, which had declined to 12 percent, began to rise again and now is close to 14 percent. Unemployment is somewhat less than a million and a half and may increase somewhat as unprecedented 15

percent minimum lending rates squeeze companies of capital needed for expansion.

There is wide agreement among economists that the answer to Britain's problems is not the drastic import curbs and the siege economy advocated by some Labour left-wingers. Mr. Healey has hinted that, in order to meet conditions the IMF may impose, he may have to reverse previous promises and cut public spending before Christmas. (The government's line until now has been that it has prepared extensive cuts for next year, but that to impose draconian cuts precipitously this year would lead to social unrest and prove counterproductive.)

In the starkest terms, whatever happens, the housewife is going to have to pay more for her essential shopping needs; her husband's take-home pay is going to increase only marginally, if at all, and jobs are not going to be easier to find.

At the factory level, somehow or other management and the work force are going to have to work together in far greater harmony than heretofore, to increase production and push British goods vigorously out into the world once more. It is not an exciting formula, but it is the only one that seems likely to work.

his magic wand over the problem. But there are some observers who think that morale may rapidly deteriorate if the situation does not improve.

The brutal murder of the prominent republican figure, Maire Drumm, in a Belfast hospital has opened up a new range of retaliation. Fresh arrests in Britain under the Prevention of Terrorism Act indicate that another campaign on English soil is expected. Meanwhile political initiatives appear to be at a standstill.

London seems to pin what hope it has upon the gallantry, even martyr-spirit, of the Women's Peace Movement. But if the Movement is to make peace, and not just say No to violence, it will have to take stands on the causes of conflict. That will mean taking sides; turning the risk of failure and discredit.

In spite of the peace women, there are still plenty of young men and women prepared to make war — or at least enough to keep it going. A wave of American intervention might play into their hands. But a sophisticated exercise, operating through Dublin rather than London, just might be the one road out of the Ulster nightmare.

From page 1

*Is there a role for U.S. in Ulster?

ification, too, for the protests that have been made against Mr. Carter's "intervention." The company in which he spoke, the so-called Irish National Caucus, has been described by some members of the largely Catholic Northern Ireland Social Democratic & Labour Party as "a bunch of emigrant haters." Some at least of its members are known to have contacts with the men of violence. It is feared that by fraternizing with them, Mr. Carter may lend respectability to the fire-eaters and gun-runners of the IRA.

London critics of Mr. Carter are also afraid that by parading in his "British Out" button, and even hunting at American pressure, he may have given second wind to republican firebrands. He may, it is argued, have put into their heads an idea that was never there before. That of America coming to their rescue.

The sovereignty of recognized national governments and their right to rule (see of intrigues by other states is, of course, one of the fundamentals of international relations. The Soviet Union is constantly puffing and pulling against "unwarrantable interference with the internal affairs of the Soviet people." But the

doctrine of sovereignty has in many ways been weakened by the birth of the United Nations and its concept of universal human rights.

Mr. Carter, in Philadelphia, before the Irish National Caucus, gave further cause for alarm. Not only did he tell the assembled Irish Americans that he had just been talking to Cardinal Cooke — in other words, hobnobbing with a prince of the Roman Catholic Church — but they had been discussing the need for "a commission on international peace, to pursue the concept of our country's standing firm for human rights."

Such a commission can be seen as a major alarm for interfering in the law and order responsibilities of other states. Though, alternatively, it can be seen as an agency for helping the oppressed of all faiths and nations, including the oppressed of all faiths and nations, including the oppressed of all faiths and nations, including the oppressed of all faiths and nations.

But again London and Washington can only be alarmed at the prospect of an American agency, official or unofficial, taking its first known steps in the direction of an American-led Irish republican cause, and then — who knows? — Soviet Union and Maoist nationalism, against the allegedly cruel and

repressive English. The prospect of being able to go over the heads of the United Kingdom government to the European Court is already disturbing enough. What would happen if the United States, by the use of its power, were to draw blood on the other side?

Yet there is to be heard in some commonwealth diplomatic circles here, a small, heretical voice saying, "Why not? Why shouldn't the United States be positively invited and welcomed to intervene? What would be so wrong with a Kissinger Plan for Ireland? Can anyone else get Britain out of the mess? Would American intervention not be much more acceptable than permanent leftist Afro-Asian majority rule?"

One answer to this is that Kissinger's diplomacy hardly saved Vietnam and has yet to save Rhodesia/Zimbabwe from destruction. And is a list of Irish-American lobbying, the right one on which to base a solution of a very ancient and intricate problem? Whose interests would come first?

The British public does not yet seem to be so exasperated with Northern Ireland as to welcome some wariness from Washington to waver

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Correction

A reader in Rhodesia has pointed to mistakes in an article on that country filed from London and appearing in the daily edition of the Monitor dated Aug. 9 and in the weekly international edition dated Aug. 16. These mistakes concern military service and currency regulations in Rhodesia.

The facts are these. On military service: the age of registration has been lowered from 17 to 16 years, but young men are not called up until they are 18. On currency restrictions: the emigration allowance has been reduced from 5,000 Rhodesian dollars to 1,000 Rhodesian dollars per family, and the yearly amount available to an individual Rhodesian for vacationing outside the country has been cut from 400 Rhodesian dollars to 200 Rhodesian dollars. (The Rhodesian dollar is roughly equivalent to U.S. \$1.60.)

Africa

An interview with Joshua Nkomo

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Geneva
"We came here to Geneva because there's a war," said Joshua Nkomo, one of the Rhodesian black nationalist leaders. "Our effort is to remove the causes of the war by an acceptable solution. As long as we have not done so, the war will continue."

Mr. Nkomo is president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union and perhaps the best known internationally of the four black leaders who have come to Geneva for talks with white Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith under British chairmanship.

The talks are aimed at setting up an interim government, with the goal being independence under majority rule within two years. Zimbabwe, the African name for Rhodesia, is the probable name of the new state.

Among the African leaders here at Geneva, Mr. Nkomo is a moderate. "It's a pity," he told this reporter in a recent interview, "that cattle are more sensible than human beings. Black and white graze peacefully together in the same pen. What makes creatures who have reason attach such importance to color? I don't."

Decade in detention

Yet Mr. Nkomo was detained by Mr. Smith's white minority regime for a decade, from before that regime's unilateral declaration of independence from Britain in November, 1965, until December, 1974. Two other leaders of black delegations to Geneva, Robert Mugabe and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, were similarly detained.

(Only the fourth of such leaders, Methodist Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who is president of the African National Council's so-called external wing, has never been confined to a prison or detention camp. The ANC is split, and Mr. Nkomo is president of the so-called internal wing. Both wings have wide support within Rhodesia, whereas Mr. Mugabe's strength is with the guerrilla fighters of the Zimbabwe People's Army, which operates from bases in Mozambique. Mr. Sithole is currently the weakest of the four leaders, with little visible support either within or without the country, although, like Mr. Nkomo, he

was one of the early leaders of the African national movement.)

Mr. Nkomo's internal prestige was damaged when he negotiated unsuccessfully with Mr. Smith early this year for a peaceful transition to black majority rule. This may be why he felt it necessary to ally himself with Mr. Mugabe, the most militant of the four Africans at the conference, before they came to Geneva. The two have formed a "patriotic front."

Britain prodded

Like the other African delegates, Mr. Nkomo complains that Britain should "take up its colonial responsibilities." But if he can get the substance of majority rule, he seems more willing to compromise on guarantees for the white minority than do the other black leaders, including his partner in the patriotic front, Mr. Mugabe.

Mr. Nkomo senses a division within the white community: There are the diehards who look on U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's mediation proposals (accepting majority rule in two years but including safeguards for the existing white regime, which the blacks reject) as a means of clinging to power indefinitely. But another group of farmers and businessmen recognizes that majority rule is inevitable and wishes the transition to be as rapid and smooth as possible.

Representatives of the second group have been to see Mr. Nkomo and his white adviser, former Rhodesian Prime Minister Garfield Todd, to pledge their support. But suspicion of Mr. Smith and his attempts to delay majority rule as long as possible are very strong, even in Mr. Nkomo's delegation. The is one reason the British chairman, Ivor Richard, is making agreement on a date for independence his first priority. He apparently hopes that once this is settled, the haggling over the interim government will be easier.

If a compromise that concedes the substance of black majority rule is worked out, would Mr. Nkomo accept it even if Mr. Mugabe, for instance, felt it did not go far enough?

"I'm not a child," Mr. Nkomo answered, looking straight at this reporter. "I've been in this struggle longer than anybody else. I do something because I think that something will benefit my people. I'm not pushed or pulled by extremes, on either side. I survive by actions, by real things."



By Sven Simon

Nkomo: designs for clothes and Rhodesia

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America's last log drive

Text by Stewart Dill McBride
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Photos by Barth J. Falkenberg
Staff photographer of The Christian Science Monitor

Skowhegan, Maine
For three centuries they waited. Each March, in cramped cabins along lonely miles of the frozen Kennebec, the river drivers waited, comforted only by the woolen underwear and bacon the womenfolk had packed for them. They waited patiently and eventually it came, as it did every year. Spring thaw.

Solid streams and ponds, thousands of them dotting Maine's north woods, unlocked their dungeons of rolling ice and turned loose a stampede of logs left harnessed in the snow by lumberjacks the previous winter. The fallen timbers, resurrected on the crests of white-water freshets, balked at the shoals, viciously gnawing at each other's bark, clogging and jamming river canyons like fists of firecrackers.

Since Colonial days, Maine's river drivers, a robust breed of brawling Bunyanesque men, herded and occasionally rode the bucking logs downstream, beckoned by the hungry screams of the mills' silver saws, which turned towering pines into everything from toothpicks to masts for the British Royal Navy.

Their moustaches black as bark, thick as spruce pitch, these cowboys of the Kennebec wore chopped-off trousers and felt-brimmed hats. They shouldered steel-tipped pickpoles and "cant dogs," and danced with the dexterity of high-wire artists across the bobbing backs of their wooden cattle. And when muscle couldn't pry apart a stubborn logjam, a stick or two of dynamite did the job.

Many couldn't swim

Many of the river drivers, then as today, couldn't swim a stroke, and stayed afloat by trusting nimble feet on currents swift enough to kick the snout of a defiant log 20 feet in the air. "Timber walking" on the Kennebec, from the April "ice-out" to the November "freeze-up," was more dangerous than romantic, and if ever a logger lost his footing and life to the frigid black waters, his spiked boots were nailed to the nearest tree as a memorial and warning to the less judicious "river cats."

Whenever they hit "dead water" or were forced to "lay back for a head wind," log drivers earned their reputation for playing as hard as they worked. They romped in river rodeos of log-rolling, horseshoe pitching, storytelling, and foot races with barrels of salt pork and molasses on their shoulders.

In the early 19th century, among the annual procession of wood down the Kennebec were the logs of scores of rival timber companies, whose 184-mile conveyor belt ran from Moosehead Lake — the blue bull's-eye

in the midst of Maine's 20 million acres of lush forest — to the Atlantic. But the floating wooden wealth was a temptation: Even "ax-branding" the ends of the timber couldn't prevent massive "log rustling." Finally in 1835, the Maine Legislature halted the chaos and the frequent fights between competing loggers: It chartered the cooperative, nonprofit Kennebec River Log Driving Company, designed to referee annual drives.

Outboards, TV, showers

Much of the heavy work and outdoor romance of the river drive remains today; but over the past 140 years the rugged but silent "river cats," like the lumberjacks, have slowly succumbed to modernization. "Kickers" (outboard motors) now power their flat-bottomed boats, called "bateaux." Television and hot showers have been added to the Spartan regime of the river camps (today reserved primarily for "visa boys" from Quebec), where men once slept on the cold ground beneath a common blanket.

In 1835, 63 logging companies floated their wood cargoes down the Kennebec. Now only the Scott Paper Company remains. The river drive is a modern tale of transition: shifting from the slower speedier road and rail delivery of pulpwood to the insatiable mills. The final plug was pulled on the river drive in 1971 when the state Legislature outlawed the transporting of logs down the Kennebec after Oct. 1, 1976. It had finally yielded to pressure from environmentalists and sportsmen who protested that the logs and their oxygen-consuming leavings hindered fish spawning and pleasure boating.

Last summer's "transition drive" was only 90,000 cords, a fraction of such "great log drives" as the 250,000 cords moved in 1975 and the record 318,882 cords driven in 1880. But this year's was the final river drive ever in America.

At this moment the Kennebec River Log Driving Company is selling the last of its boats and pickpoles. The men who spent decades of their lives prodding the stubborn logs downstream are out looking for other work. Some will go to the paper mills. Perhaps a few will be seen next year on Maine's Route 201, steering the giant truck trailers of timber which have forced the river drivers into extinction.

Many of these men, the last links with a tradition in America's logging past, are left without a future. As youngsters they dropped out of school to follow their fathers and grandfathers down the river. They can neither read nor write and the once proud and fiercely independent men must go on welfare.

A final flurry of national publicity has given the loggers a momentary sunset of nostalgia to ride into, but, barring an abrupt change of heart by the paper companies, the cowboys of the Kennebec have driven their last logs.



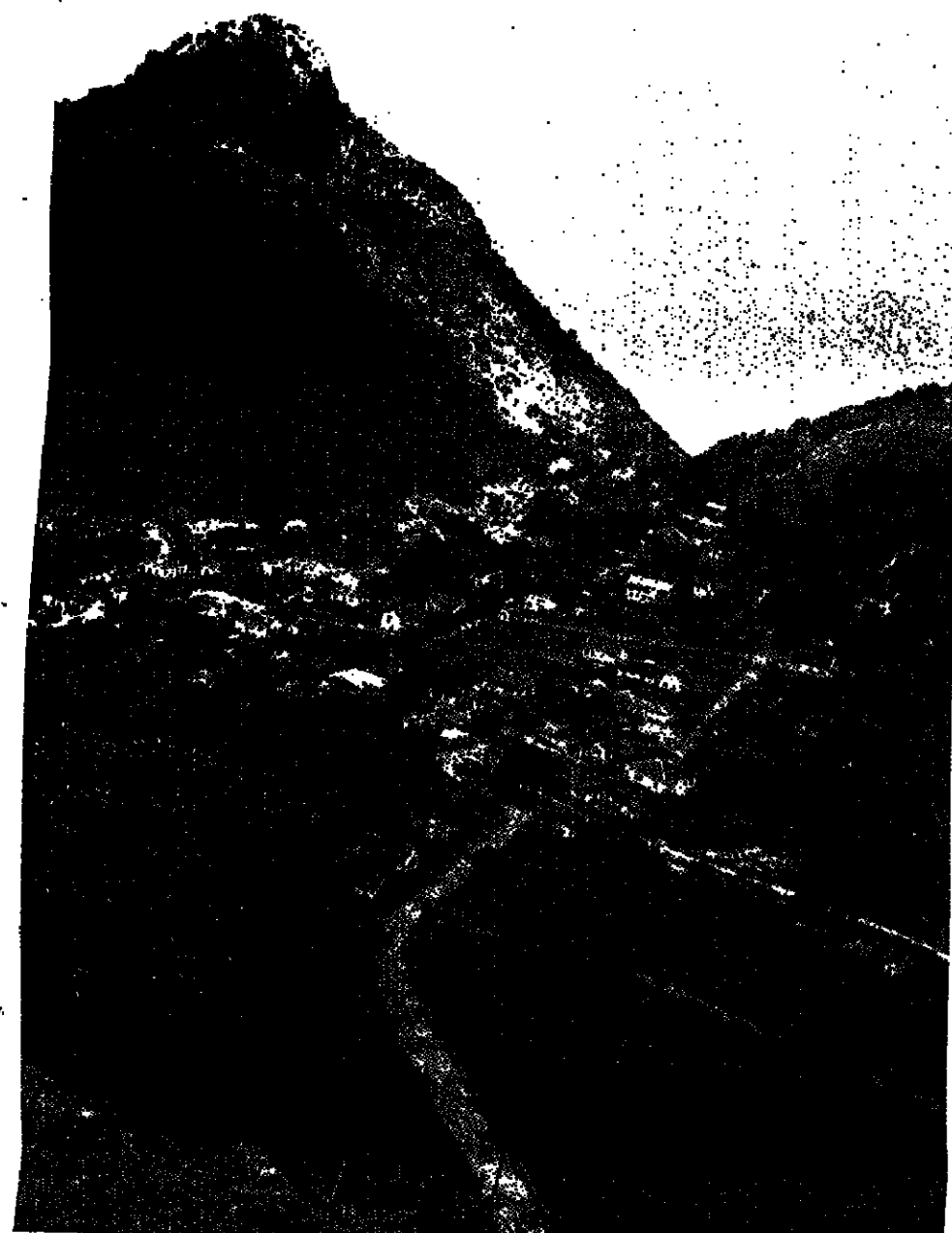
Log driver Boster Violette
— 30 years on the Kennebec



In a tradition that dates from Colonial times, Maine's river drivers (above) herded bucking logs with "pickpoles" (below left), fancy footwork, and flat-bottomed "bateaux" (below right)



travel



The Bottom, Saba

Saba: where bicycles are an absurdity

By Peter Tonge

In the Caribbean

Tiny Saba — a steep island mountain

By Peter Tonge
Staff writer of
The Christian Science
Monitor

St. Martin, Netherlands Antilles
There is a jade green mountain, just a 15-minute plane hop from here, that rises straight up out of the sea for almost 3,000 feet. It is called Saba, and it is one of the more unusual and delightful of all the islands that dot the deep blue Caribbean.

There is a sort of once-upon-a-time atmosphere, a fairytale charm about the place. Lush vegetation covers the one-time volcano from the rain forest of the summit all the way down to within a few hundred feet of the rocky shore. Pink grapefruit, mangoes, avocados, limes, oranges, bananas, papayas, and the grape-fleshed kemp are the sweet fruits of the island. The giant breadfruit also yields abundantly.

Doll-sized houses with white walls and red roofs cling to the mountainside, clustered together in picturesque villages known as Hell's Gate, the Windwardside, St. John's, and the Bottom — which, despite its name, is one-third of the way up the mountain. The altitude moderates the usual hot breath of the Caribbean so that air conditioning is unnecessary.

However you arrive — by boat at Fort Bay or on the postage stamp of an air strip on the other side of the island — the only way to any kind of civilization is straight up. Before motorized vehicles arrived in 1947 there were no roads on the island, only steps. Shank's mare was the only way to go, and the Sabans had as wily a set of legs as a Himalayan Sherpa. He also had a lot of patience, for no one climbs 1,000 feet in a hurry.

Finally autos became small enough and powerful enough (the Jeep was the first to arrive) to negotiate the sharp curves and steep inclines. Then the miles of winding steps were paved over and turned into narrow walled roads, no wider than an English country lane and just as pretty. It's low gear all the way, whether climbing up or checking the motor on the dizzying descents.

A Saban, it is said, is the only child in the Western world to grow up without a bicycle. "A bike," says Elmer Hassel who traces his family's arrival on the island back to 1870, "would be an absurdity here."

Some 1,000 people currently live on the island, but 6,000 Sabans or their direct descendants live elsewhere; 2,000 in the U.S. Fifty years ago the population stood at 2,200 before the exodus for better jobs began. Now a measure of prosperity is returning to the once prosperous little island, and the resident population is beginning to climb again.

Saba's white residents are descended largely from English, Irish, Scottish, and some Dutch who settled the island not very long after the Pilgrim Fathers went to Massachusetts. The black population — some 45 percent — de-

scended from slaves emancipated in 1863. In this respect Saba was a Caribbean exception: Slaves never outnumbered the settlers as they did by wide margins on all other islands.

They get along well together. "We all must," says Mr. Hassel "on an island this small." At the base it is five square miles but the steep topography provides a much larger area on which to walk — or rather climb.

Until modern technology took its toll, cottage industries abounded on the island, adding in its former prosperity. It was, in fact, the shoemaking center of the Caribbean in the 17th and early 18th centuries, and Saban straw hats kept the sun off many a head in far-away places. Now the cottage industries have disappeared — except for one.

A sign on a street corner led me to the home of Lester and Helen Peterson in the village of Windwardside. "Drawnthread handwork," it said, and an arrow pointed the direction.

In the latter half of the last century drawnthread work, also known as Spanish or Saba lace, was practiced extensively and the island became well-known for the skillfully worked linen. This delicate form of stitchery never died out completely, and today, with a growing appreciation for hand-crafted goods, coupled with an increase of tourists, the craft is resurging somewhat.

Mrs. Peterson, a grandmother now, has worked at the craft all her adult life, and over the years has built up a clientele in various lands, principally in the U.S. When I was there she was completing some table place-mats for a woman who lives in Hawkeye, Iowa.

As we discussed the island, its people, and the special craft of drawnthread work I was able to look out at the million-dollar view which all residents of this lofty island are blessed with. I left with an attractively worked bun warmer cloth in my hands, priced at \$7. "I use only Irish linen or linen from Belgium," says Mrs. Peterson, "but it is becoming expensive now." Monogrammed hand towels were going for \$3.50 and a 9 by 6 foot ornate table cloth for \$125.

Some women, knowing when the small Winair plane arrives from St. Martin, peddle their wares to visiting tourists at the side of the road near the airstrip.

Saba lace, of course, brings some money to the island. Salaries (many Sabans work for the Antilles Government) have more than doubled in the past decade, and Saban products — fish, white potatoes, and bananas particularly — fetch good prices on neighboring islands. Tourism also boosts the economy.

Though the bulk of visitors come only for the day by plane or ship, there is limited accommodation in hotels and guesthouses. Cottages may also be rented by the week or month. The principal hotel, and the only one on the island with private baths, is The Captain's Quarters. The rooms are large and airy, and some even have four-poster beds. Like the island itself, the place has a charm all its own.

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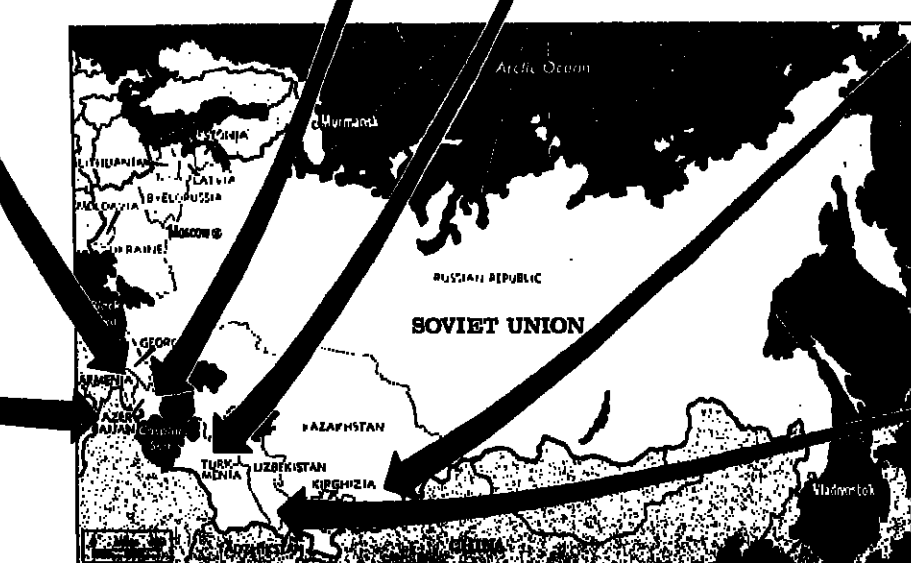
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Photos by Stanley D. McElroy, Elizabeth Pond, Alan Sand, and Boris Kozlov

U.S.S.R. not a melting pot

The Soviet Union is made up of many nationalities. But the American melting-pot theory does not apply to the Soviet situation. The ethnic minorities in the Soviet Union cling stubbornly to their traditions. And nationalism is the one issue that could focus the discontent of a populace that is otherwise politically apathetic.

By Elizabeth Pond
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

"We are a little colony of Russia — in 1976," spat out one Georgian to a visitor in Tbilisi. "What wouldn't we be today if we weren't a colony of Russia?"

Georgian, Baltic, and Central Asian critics, Russian ordering about of the smaller Soviet minorities is an insult to national identity. And the Soviet Union is an anomaly, the last empire in a post-colonial world.

To the Russians, however, who constitute 54.4 percent of the Soviet population and who dominate the country's political, economic, and cultural life, it is only natural that they are the "elder brothers" among the country's 104 recognized nationalities.

Where truth lies for the Soviet Union's 113 million non-Russians will determine the future tranquility of turbulence of Soviet life far more than any other domestic issue. The narrow class concern of intellectuals about freedom, chronic and therefore accustomed meat shortages, and an inefficient economy are all minor irritants in comparison with the potential dynamite of the nationalities question.

In an otherwise politically apathetic population, nationalism is the one issue that could catch the imagination of large masses and focus discontent against Moscow's leadership.

So far, however, the crisis that Western observers have long anticipated has not materialized. There has been no outburst of anti-Russian riots since Army troops rushed to quell demonstrations in Kaunas, Lithuania, in 1972.

Czarist empire prolonged

There are several reasons for Moscow's success to date in prolonging the old czarist empire. They include:

- Positive incentives, such as economic integration and development throughout the entire Soviet Union; access to the modern technological world through Russian ties; opportunities for Russified native leaders to join the governing elite and to share in the elite perquisites; and, for Central Asians, freedom from exhausting local warfare, as well as dramatically improved education, health care, and standard of living under Soviet rule.

- Such neutral factors as tolerance of local culture within certain bounds.

- Negative penalties, through authoritarianism, of the teaching of real power to Slav, Russian, Byelorussian, and Ukrainian) second secretaries in the all-important Communist Parties in the republics; firm Russian control of police and especially secret police forces in all the republics; suppression of the rare nationalist uprisings; Slav emigration to minority regions, and especially to their capital cities; dispersal of Army recruits so that national units do not form and serve in their own republics; and lethal purges of local communist leaders in the 1930s and less lethal purges in Latvia in the 1950s, and in the Ukraine in the 1970s.

Soviet policy varies

Soviet policy on nationalities has followed many zigzags. The Reds first promised autonomy to the various nationalities when they ousted the Whites for non-Russian loyalties. At the old Russian empire dissolved in civil war. As the Bolsheviks (under the most ruthless czarism of all, the Georgian Joseph Stalin) consolidated their power, however, they repudiated their promises. They sent the Red

Army in to suppress attempts at autonomy in Georgia and elsewhere; they forcibly settled Central Asian nomads; they liquidated their own national communist leaderships.

Legally, the 15 Soviet republics are equal, and each has the right to secede. In practice, however, any "local" leaders suspected of "bourgeois nationalism" or even economic localism are swiftly dispensed with. And ordinary citizens who raise this issue — like the 14 Armenians sentenced in 1974 for proposing a referendum on secession — can expect jail terms.

Such control by Moscow is justified, ideologically by the argument that a centralized, nationwide proletarian party and the planned centralized economy must always take top priority.

Under Khrushchev and Brezhnev the goal has been "rapprochement," a "growing together" of the various nationalities leading to an undifferentiated, "united" Soviet people.

The concept is comparable to the American melting-pot theory.

A 'nonmelting' pot

But here the pot's contents refuse to melt. This leads to chronic disguised arguments about "Russification" in education, versions of history, and urban populations in the national republics.

Latvians complain Slav labor is brought in for new factories and that incoming Russian engineers get apartments in a year, while Latvians have to wait five years.

Estonian clerks refuse to sell their childhood wares to Russian customers. Lithuanians cling to their Roman Catholic heritage both as a religion and as a national fortress against encroaching atheistic Slavs.

In all of the national republics the younger generation, which has grown up amid Soviet preaching about the withering away of nationalism, still stampedes to university studies in the native languages, literatures, and histories. Competition runs as high as 45 applicants for every available opening in these studies.

In addition, fierce disputes rage, especially in Georgia just now, over pressures from Moscow to increase attendance at Russian-language, rather than native-language, elementary schools, and to make Russian-language dissertations compulsory at university level.

The minority republics accommodate to the strains in varied ways. Georgians maintain their own mild-Stalin cult, boycott the Russian-language elementary schools, and thrive on political double entendres.

Estonians quietly limit their new factories (and thereby any influx of Slav workers); run a much more efficient economy than the Russians, with as much self-reliance as possible; and consequently enjoy the highest standard of living in the Soviet Union.

Ukrainians play for the highest stakes, engaging in factional maneuvering for the top Soviet leadership in Moscow.

Slavic nationalism responses

When they stop to think about it, the Russians worry about anti-Russian nationalism. And they tend to respond with a Slavic nationalism — some term it chauvinism — of their own. The fears of Slavs are especially aroused when they compare the high Central Asian birthrate with the low Slav birthrate and anticipate that in a few years Russians themselves will be a minority in the Soviet Union.

Western specialists on Soviet nationalities problems contend Moscow is not impure to the centrifugal demands for independence that broke up all the other great empires in the postwar world. Certainly, the potential for trouble could be swiftly realized during a war or other prolonged turmoil.

So far, however, economic self-interest and police sanctions have kept the Soviet Union together.

Elizabeth Pond, formerly the Monitor's Moscow-based correspondent, returned recently to the United States after spending two years in the Soviet Union.

Third in a series

home

The care and feeding of fine Oriental rugs

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

A really fine Oriental rug will give the purchaser a lot of mileage at minimum expense. The upkeep is low — and easy. It is not necessary, as many people assume, to send an Oriental rug to the cleaners every year for a professional "bath."

"Don't send it to the cleaners until it is dirty," is the advice of experts. With proper care, it should not be necessary to send an Oriental rug to the cleaners for three or four years, or even longer, depending on the "traffic," according to experts.

If "proper care" they mean brushing the rug with a broom or carpet sweeper every day or so, followed by a weekly once over with the vacuum cleaner. If the rug is subjected to heavy traffic where dirt and dust are tracked in from outside, then more frequent vacuuming would be necessary.

In fact, sand and grit should be removed promptly before being ground into a rug where they can cut the fibers.

A fine Oriental rug can take a lot of punishment and still survive for many years.

Harold Keshishian, a trustee of the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C., and an authority on Oriental rugs and their care, cited the case of the Pazyryk rug which hangs in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad.

This rug was discovered some 2,400 years ago in the tomb of a royal Scythian family in the Altai mountain range of Southern Siberia. A grave robber, burrowing into the tomb, created a tunnel through which water leaked into the funeral chamber to freeze, and preserve this now famous rug, "the oldest rug known to man," Mr. Keshishian says.

Freezing does not seem a very practical way to preserve a rug these days, but washing can help — not in the washer — but on the floor. Charles W. Jacobsen, an authority on Oriental rugs suggests that one wash one's own Oriental carpets. He insists it can be done safely and effectively with a sponge or hand brush, using certain oil-based soaps manufactured for the purpose.

One of the most important rug-savers is the

most basic of all — the pad. Most Oriental rugs call for a pad of jute hair, rubberized on both sides to prevent skidding.

The pad should be one-quarter to one-half inch shorter than the rug, according to Mr. Keshishian. He does not recommend foam rubber because it has more give, he says, and therefore a tendency to skid.

As for spots and stains, the most important thing to do is to attack them at once. Keep spot-removers on hand. For grease spots, use rug cleansers such as K-2, Goddards Spot Remover, or other well-known products.

Not all spots call for the use of commercial formulas. Sometimes a simple homemade formula will do. For instance, white household vinegar and warm water (one part vinegar to two parts water) is sufficient to remove certain types of stains.

A "first aid" in case of coffee or soft drink stains is water — lots of it as soon as possible to dilute the spill. Such stains, if extensive, will usually require a chemical follow-up or the services of a professional rug cleaner.

Some stains will respond to the combination of a mild detergent and lukewarm water — a teaspoon of detergent to a cup of water.

If you have animals in the house, beware of urine stains which often go unnoticed, particularly on a figured Oriental rug. These spots, if not removed immediately, result in dry rot.

A new 13-page booklet published by the Association of Interior Decor Specialists, Inc., deals with various methods of stain removal and general care of carpets, rugs, draperies, and upholstery. It is called "Aids to Interior Decor Fabric Care," and may be obtained, free of charge, by addressing a request, with self-addressed and stamped long envelope (7½-by-4 inches) to AIDS International, 1815 North Fort Meyer Drive, Arlington, Virginia 22209.

Mr. Jacobsen's books, which are also helpful and specific on the subject of Oriental rugs, may be found in public libraries. One, entitled, "Checkpoints on How to Buy Oriental Rugs," has a special chapter on "Care of Oriental Rugs." Another book by the same author is "Oriental Rugs — A Complete Guide." Publisher, Charles E. Tuttle Company, Rutland, Vermont.



In Tehran carpets are washed in the river and then placed on rocks to dry

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

For children: How to build a terrarium

By Judith Helms

If you go to any garden or plant store you will see elaborate and expensive equipment for making terrariums. Here are some ideas for creating your own indoor garden or terrarium, and having some summer fun as well. These make nice gifts for others too, especially for someone you may know who does not get outdoors very often.

For equipment you will need:

- A large jar (with a fairly wide neck) or a fishbowl.
- Some charcoal which can be bought in small quantities at plant or pet store.
- Soil.
- Pebbles.
- Plant plastic wrap.

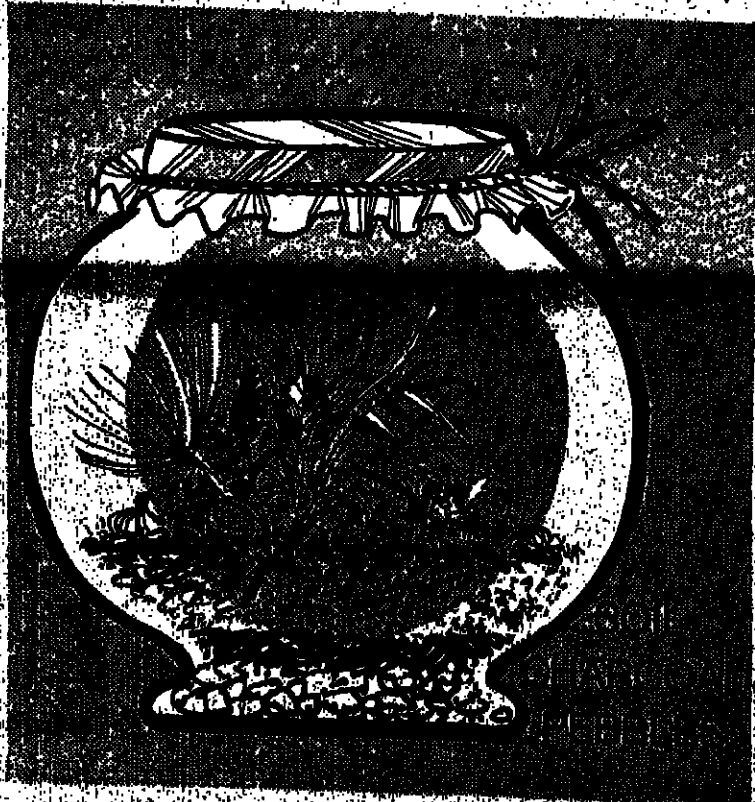
Now look for little plants growing close to the ground; you might find checkerberry or hog cranberry (both of which have small shiny leaves and red berries), partridgeberry, tiny ferns, hepatica, twinberry, or even tiny wild violets. Little sprouts of spruce and pine trees are pretty too. Mosses and lichens are lovely and add lots of color to the scene. Dig up your plants carefully, being sure to take a little ball of earth around the roots. Be careful and considerate. Don't take more plants than you can really use.

To prepare and plant your terrarium first place a layer of pebbles in the bottom of the container, then add about a half-inch of charcoal. Top this with some soil and then arrange your plants carefully in the soil. Think about how they will look together and

make an attractive arrangement. Water the terrarium until it is moist, not soaked, and then cover the top tightly with the plastic wrap. You may want to hold the plastic wrap on with a ribbon or a colorful piece of yarn. As the water evaporates from the soil

it will form little drops on the plastic wrap, these will then fall back into the soil in a little rainstorm, keeping it moist. If it seems to be soaking wet remove the top for a day or two and let the soil dry out a bit.

If you give your terrarium as a gift it might be fun to write on a little tag the names of all the plants in the little garden, and where you found them. You might like to do the same thing for yourself and keep your list in a small notebook! Happy collecting!



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financial

Newfoundland — how to exploit its riches

By Guy Halverson
Business and financial correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

St. John's, Newfoundland
Newfoundland, Canada's easternmost province, has long been known as a virtual treasure chest of resources: rich iron ore and uranium deposits, hydroelectric power, large game stocks and timber resources, an intelligent and industrious work force, and perhaps most important, what are believed to be important new offshore oil and gas deposits.

But facing top government and industry leaders here is a troubling question: Will the resources — within the foreseeable future at least — actually be developed?

Furthermore, will whatever economic development that does come be carefully managed, with ultimate control staying in the hands of Newfoundlanders? Or, will control, as international oil companies and other large-scale entrepreneurs move here, pass to others — perhaps even to non-Canadians?

Development is important to Newfoundland. It offers the possibility of more and better-paying jobs for the province's 500,000 people, a population living in an area larger than some 11 U.S. states. At present, unemployment is running a whopping 15 to 20 percent. Much of that is seasonal joblessness, however, and related to the sagging fishing industry.

Other problems lie ahead:

- A new kind of separatism — the desire of some residents of mainland Labrador to establish a new province separate from the island of Newfoundland — could become stronger in the next few years. If successful, it could remove the rich hydroelectric and mining operations of Labrador from the control of the provincial government in St. John's.

There is some concern here that political in-

terests in Quebec would not be totally unhappy to see Labrador (adjacent to eastern Quebec) split away from Newfoundland.

- Many talented and ambitious young people continue to leave the province for the big cities of mainland Canada and their better job opportunities.

Deputy Minister for Industrial Development A. J. Roche emphasizes that development of industrial and mineral resources is absolutely "vital" to the province.

Says one government official: "We just can't do it on our own. That's why we're genuinely welcoming outside investment and technical expertise."

The provincial government is now directly courting investment from the U.S. and a number of Western European nations, including Norway, Sweden, Finland, West Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, and Italy.

Provincial officials cite a number of phases for attracting new industry:

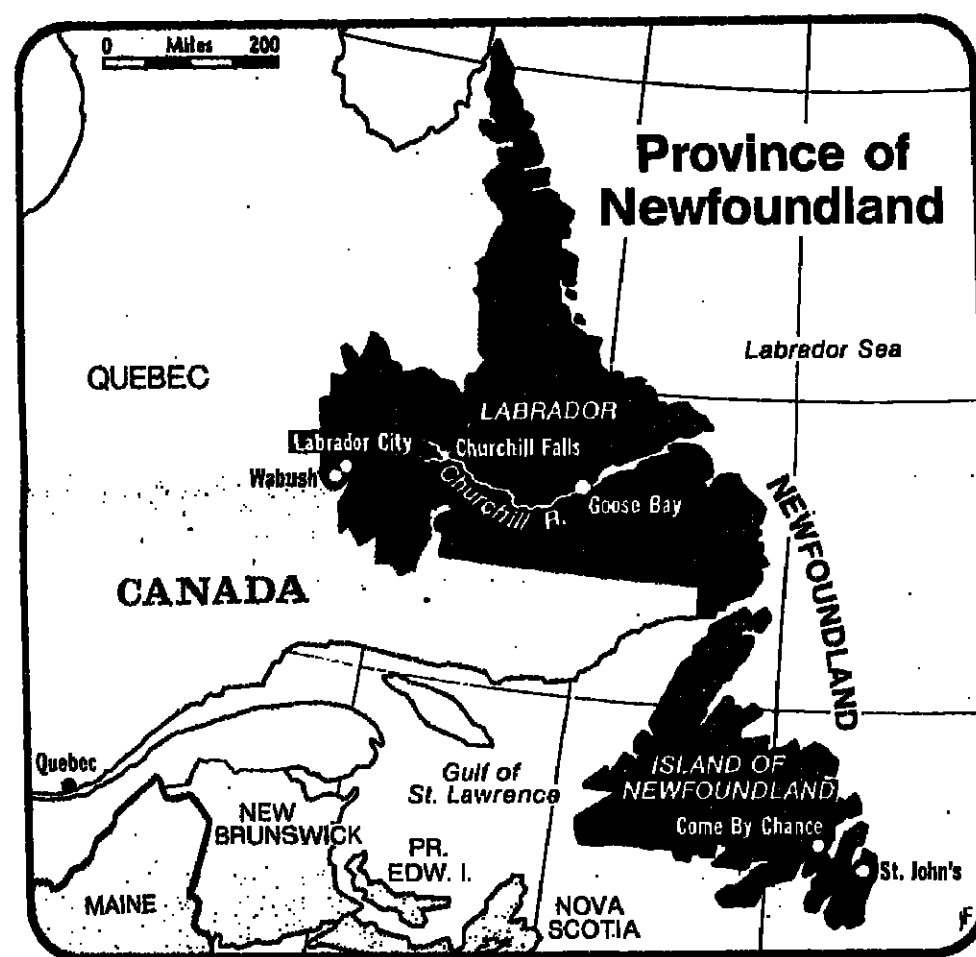
- Special financial incentives available to companies seeking to relocate here.

- A highly motivated, stable labor force that is family-oriented and deeply attached to the province. Indeed, Newfoundland, as local officials are quick to note, is the oldest continually settled part of North America. Some families are able to trace their roots back three centuries.

- An increasingly urban society. The two major cities of St. John's and Corner Brook are now the twin hubs of the province. In historic St. John's new mid-shopping complexes stretch out in all directions. Homes are neatly maintained, and often freshly painted in dazzling bright colors — rich reds, greens, and yellows.

- Service industries, particularly in the food area, are considered first-rate.

Perhaps most important in assessing New-



foundland's future is the whole matter of oil and gas deposits. The question about oil and gas, according to Steven M. Millan, Assistant Deputy Minister of Energy, is now not whether such deposits exist offshore, but rather how big and where.

To date, says Jean Louis Corneil, operations manager for Eastern, Ltd., one of the main oil companies operating in Newfoundland waters, some \$100 million or so has been spent on oil-gas exploration.

There have been at least three gas finds, one suggesting oil deposits. This has prompted enthusiastic talk here about Newfoundland becoming a new "Norway."

Some analysts here believe there will be a federal-provincial struggle over Newfoundland oil and gas — with Ottawa interested in using the oil and gas to light Toronto and Montreal homes, and Newfoundland seeking to use the energy sources for its own industrial development.

From the company that brought you Leica cameras...

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

What do people around the world think about when asked to name a really fine technical product? Polls have shown that the first thing that comes to mind is a Mercedes-Benz.

The next thing is a Leica camera. The Leica is made by Ernst Leitz Wetzlar GMBH, situated in the north of the state of Hessen.

From the beginning the firm has been known not only for its uncompromising quality but for its innovations.

To produce the kind of quality microscopes, lenses, and precision measuring equipment that keep the firm's name on top, it had to develop much of its own manufacturing equipment and assembly methods.

The kind of precision optical equipment produced here demanded the type of machine tools that just weren't on the market.

"So we just had to make them ourselves," said Knut Heltmann, chief of the research and development division.

Other firms often come to Leitz for custom machines and for special jobs. Now 80 percent of the turnover of this optical company is in the area of instruments and precision machine tools.

Manufacturing innovations

The same innovation holds true for assembly methods. "We must keep tolerances under two millionths of an inch when assembling the lens systems of a fine microscope," says Mr. Heltmann.

These assembly methods are guarded secrets. "We know that the Japanese these days can do all the computations in optics and make fine lenses, but we feel we are ahead of them in realizing the results of the computations — that is, putting the product together."

The firm also is pioneering in the field of optonics, which combines optics and electronics in many technological areas.

"Already computers can respond to voice commands," Mr. Heltmann says. "The next step in optics and electronics is to automate image processing."

Mr. Heltmann is deeply concerned that the role of optics

companies could fall behind that of electronics firms in this process.

"We could be left just selling parts to them," Mr. Heltmann says. All of the big electronics companies now have optic departments.

"But our firm has decided to influence the interface of optics and electronics," he says.

Advantages to optics

He explained that optics have advantages the electronics firms overlook. A lens in almost any system can help integrate information more quickly and cheaply than electronics alone, he says. So Leitz wants to strike the most advantageous balance between optical and electronic methods in the new systems that will help manufacturers and researchers in the future.

Leitz, with its tradition of custom work and a wide range of consultation and user advisory services, is convinced the rapidly changing field of optics has room for what it has always stood for — quality, dependability, and innovation.

In 1849 the founder of the firm, Carl Zeiss, wanted to build telescopes, but German professors wanted microscopes. So he built them. Carl Zeiss was advised by all his experts not to build the Leica in 1894. He overruled them all because he had used a prototype that worked — and in the 1890s the Leica had become 60 percent of the firm's business, perhaps saving it from bankruptcy.

Leitz managers today want to stay just as flexible.

Foreign exchange cross-rates

By reading across this table of last Tuesday's mid-day international foreign exchange rates, one can find the value of the major currencies in the national currencies of each of the following financial centers. These rates do not take into account bank service charges. (a) = commercial rate.

| | U.S. Dollar | British Pound | German Mark | French Franc | Dutch Guilder | Belgian Franc | Swiss Franc |
|-----------|-------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| New York | 1.0000 | 1.2900 | 1.1800 | 206.5 | 360.8 | 233.75 | 1.667 |
| London | 0.7752 | 1.0000 | 1.2510 | 125.1 | 206.5 | 137.5 | 1.493 |
| Frankfurt | 2.4868 | 1.8213 | 1.0000 | 100.0 | 180.3 | 136.6 | 1.493 |
| Paris | 4.8375 | 3.6302 | 2.0000 | 1.0000 | 180.3 | 136.6 | 1.493 |
| Amsterdam | 2.5202 | 1.8971 | 1.0488 | 104.88 | 1.0000 | 1.0000 | 1.493 |
| Brussels | 37.82 | 28.88 | 15.3518 | 153.518 | 14.881 | 1.0000 | 1.493 |
| Zurich | 2.4468 | 1.8875 | 1.0125 | 101.25 | 180.3 | 136.6 | 1.0000 |

The following are U.S. dollar values only: Argentine peso: 2071 (c); Australian dollar: 1.2278; Danish krone: 1.666; Italian lire: 2036.27; Japanese yen: 200.355; New Zealand dollar: 96; South African rand: 1.16. Source: First National Bank of Boston, Boston.

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arts

Interview with Italian actor Giancarlo Giannini

'I can influence people more than any political leader'

By David Sterritt

New York

It looks like the biggest rising star of the year is a 33-year-old Italian with scruffy cheeks, droopy eyes, and the pluckiest performing style to emerge from the Mediterranean since early Marcello Mastroianni.

His name is Giancarlo Giannini, and so far his work is inextricably linked with that of Lina Wertmüller, who has directed his biggest international successes: "Love and Anarchy," "The Seduction of Mimi," "Swept Away by an Unusual Destiny on the Blue Sea of August," and the latest, an irreverent but celebrated political farce called "Seven Beauties."

Love of acting

Giannini and Wertmüller share many of the ideas, philosophies, and approaches that crop up on all these films. Both have a flair for sociopolitical clowning, sometimes expressed through deliberately offensive images that are intended as serious metaphors for decadent modern trends. And both have an urgent wish to be seen and appreciated by "the people" at

large, not just a coterie of like-minded artists or intellectuals.

A great love of acting creeps through nearly everything Giannini says and does. "I want to make a premise," he says early in our interview. "Whenever I speak of what I do as an actor, I am very serious about it. But I have a lot of fun doing it. It is like the ultimate game. Like when a child plays with two forks, they could be two trains for him. . . ."

Giannini says "a film cannot be perfect in every facet [but] a film has to be a complete and general idea. The final message is very important."

"So I alter the characters I portray. I use everything imaginable to portray an idea. I use every trait at my disposal. I don't care a fig for the public. . . . I know that I am doing fictional things, and the public in general feels the same way. I want to be as loyal and simple as possible in my portrayals. . . . I know I will never achieve this fully, but that's life. . . ."

Not surprisingly for such an idea-oriented man, Giannini is interested in the possibility of

influencing the ideas of other people through his work.

"On the screen I can influence people more than any political leader or personality I can think of. I'll use every fictional thing, every fake type of feeling and expression in order to continue with my dialogue vis-à-vis the public."

Improbable career

Giannini's acting career began as improbable as a scene in one of his movies. By training and vocation, he was first an electrical engineer. "I was waiting for some government documents so I could go to work in Brazil," he tells the tale. "It was a long wait, so I registered for a dramatic workshop."

While thus passing the time at Rome's Academy for Drama, "I realized immediately how wonderful and important it was to be an actor. It isn't the greatest thing, but it is meaningful because it changes the 'muscle' underneath the man who is acting. . . . Things are born and done that are so different. In playing various characters. Take the case of a person who is

born very timid — he becomes an actor and goes on stage and is told to play Napoleon. Perhaps this is how something is born within you. Because of the difficulty of communicating in life a man might have something hidden within him. But he discovers that he can communicate up there from the stage or the screen."

The profession has its traps, however, even for a man of Giannini's stature. "I realize that an actor must behave like a nut or an egomaniac at some times," says the star. "And you can easily lose your perspective. I have discovered this kind of deformation. . . . even though I try hard to avoid it. In fact, I once decided to quit, and gave up acting for most of a year."

Everyday problems

Giannini has won many awards, including the Best Actor prize at the Cannes Film Festival for "Love and Anarchy," and is a matinee idol in his home country. Yet he must struggle with the everyday problems of performers. "For an actor it is easy to lose the sense of reality," he laments. "He gets up in the morning, goes to a studio for makeup and all that, he goes to a set and acts, then he goes to see the rushes from the day before, takes his makeup off, goes home, has very little sleep. He is living in a world that is almost unreal, 24 hours a day."

"And something else: An actor knows that he can be easily 'sold,' because he is popular. Basically, motion-picture-making is also an industry — an industry which might be contrary to his ideas as an artist. So it's a continuous battle as to whether you want to do what the industry demands of you. . . ."

Yet Giannini enjoys the acting life "tremendously, or I wouldn't do it. If I had been born in Spain I would have been a toreador. . . . I consider myself the type of guy who is much less interesting than the characters I portray. That's why the characters are so different from one another. That's why I play such beautiful characters. I know there are many good who try to portray themselves. But I feel it's much more fun to be able to portray others than to know oneself intimately. It would be almost impossible to portray myself in front of a camera. Through the characters I portray a vital essence can reach the audience better."

A family man

Giannini is married to a former actress, and has two young sons. Being a family man as well as an actor "is very difficult, because of the problems inherent in the profession. But since I'm alive, I try to do all kinds of things, and I try to amalgamate all those things into one effort."

Does Giannini plan to branch out and become a director, as so many actors do these days? "Many of the things I've done in life have happened by chance," is the reply. "So I don't exclude anything. Someday I might feel I want to be a motion-picture director or a writer or a painter."

As for the present, Giannini will probably continue to concentrate on film acting. He has performed extensively on Italian television, and says he does not care much for TV. "It's a combination of other media, but a poor one. . . . It is a young medium, one only for hype and news."

In the meantime, Giannini's goal will be more film work that combines the art and commerce which are so indigenous to cinema. "I try to combine the two things, and to do popular things as much as possible. But I don't use the word 'popular,' pejoratively, because the thing I really want to do is the commercial picture."

"When there are two or three people watching a movie and they say it's great, it scares me, it destroys me. I would feel much better if they would say bad things about the picture, but there would be a big audience. An actor needs an audience. He doesn't exist without an audience — unless he is such a nut that he feels good just portraying characters before a mirror."

"The day I say I'm a misunderstood genius is when I will have to change my line or work. I would prefer to be an imbecile who is understood."



A still from 'Seven Beauties'

Acting to Giannini is the 'ultimate game'

Bucking the 'official style' of Soviet art

By Elizabeth Pond

As a young artist in a society that punishes only one rigid style, Yuri Zharkikh has had to search out his own vision of art.

He continues his exploration, of course, but he has already begun to define himself sufficiently to keep his inspiration flowing — and to sell his works to foreigners here as an established nonconformist artist. He is regarded by at least one Western artist here as among the most talented in the rather uneven group of unorthodox Soviet painters.

Difficulties in discovering one's own style are not unique to Soviet artists. In the Soviet Union, there is more financial security in the Soviet Union than in the West — for the conformist artist. But there are periodic shortages of materials; there is a dearth of visual stimulus; and then of discrimination in accessible masterpieces of modern art and rigorous aesthetic criticism, and there is a bizarre use of police power to repress disapproved artistic styles.

The young Soviet artist thus faces a triple danger of diversion into mere political illustration, a constant negative battle against authority or harassment ranging from eviction from an apartment to confinement in a prison or a mental hospital.

So far Zharkikh appears to have avoided all of the extremes — though he has been an activist in organizing unorthodox art shows in Leningrad and Moscow and has signed an occasional petition for intellectual freedom.

As Zharkikh describes his development, he knew from the age of six that he would be an artist — but he "ran away from it" for a long time. After finishing his regular secondary education he entered a sailors' institute. By his third year in this 4½-year program he was spending all his time on art, however. And after a year at sea he earned a Leningrad art institute, in 1962.

There he encountered modern art for the first time, in the institute's excellent design section and in the Eastern European and Western design magazines that were available in the library. The pure art section, on the other

hand, only showed the work of the "official" artists. A number of the students felt that this dichotomy between the institute's two sections forced them to tell artistic lies, to draw in a way they didn't like in order to pass the courses. For artists — whom Zharkikh characterizes as extreme individuals by definition — this inability to express their own "interior" caused suffering and even crises.

At first many students reacted this way, "adapted" to the school's demands — and came to dislike those fellow students who didn't do the same. By graduation in 1967, only half a dozen resistors were left. Ironically, this half dozen enjoyed the sympathies and moral support of the faculty.

After graduation Zharkikh went to work designing ceramics and fabrics to decorate public buildings — and faced the personal problem of broadening his own aesthetic exposure. In

the Soviet Union such a quest is complicated by the inaccessibility of books on foreign contemporary art. These books are here, on the shelves of libraries and institutes — but they are banned from the general reader or artist who does not have special clearance. Only works in the very literal and idealistic style of "socialist realism" are approved for broad public consumption.

There are two alternative routes of access to modern art, but these require some maneuvering by an unknown young artist. The first — if one can acquire an exit visa — is to visit Warsaw or East Berlin to buy some of the ex-

posed works. The second alternative is to wangle an invitation to look at the "forbidden art" in Soviet museum cellars or in the extraordinary private collection of George Costakis. A long-time Greek resident of Moscow, Costakis has single-handedly searched out and saved hundreds of works from that brilliant burst of Russian modernism just before and after the 1917 revolution. Though these works are disowned by Soviet cultural authorities, they hold a native fascination for today's young Russian painters.

Zharkikh's own style has evolved, as he describes it, from abstract expressionism to pure abstractionism to mysticism to lyricism — via ancient Indian and Egyptian philosophy, Buddhism and death, are recurring themes and the Russian icon is a strong influence on his composition. His works currently fetch \$50 to \$400 per piece, and two-thirds of his paintings are now abroad.

books

Joyce Grenfell's autobiography

Joyce Grenfell Requests the Pleasure, by Joyce Grenfell. London: Macmillan London Limited. £4.95.

By John Beaufort

"Joyce Grenfell Requests the Pleasure" is an open invitation to a book of grace and flavor. The smiling face on the dust jacket expresses the fresh good humor of the person who animates the pages within. In this memoir, as in her stage performances, the writer-entertainer opens a wide door, bids us a warm welcome, and shares her capacity to enjoy the human comedy.

The pleasure is not without pain. Her parents' separation when she was in her teens was a "wilderness" ordeal. Entertaining the wounded in World War II hospital wards in north Africa, southern Europe, and India presented challenges as well as rewards. But the darker experiences are placed in perspective by an individual whose expectancy of good springs from something more than sunny optimism and whose faith has grown through being tried.

Joyce (Phipps) Grenfell was born in London's Montpelier Square, the daughter of an architect from New York and one of the Langhorne sisters from Virginia. By her own account, she is "three-quarters American by birth, and English by education, marriage, and residence." She relishes "the mongrel arrangement." Her mother was "a life enhancer" who had a wonderful way with children and a repertoire of those enchanting "Songs My Mother Taught Me." Her father was "a confidence restorer" whose "well done" conveyed "total support and pleasure." Both parents were "encouragers." In their relaxed, comfortably privileged-class home life, Joyce and her younger brother Tommy "were treated as individuals with our own rights."

The early chapters of "Joyce Grenfell Requests the Pleasure" are expansively familiar. By the time she married businessman Reginald Grenfell at 19, the assorted relatives included Phippses, Grenfells, Langhornes, and Astors, to mention the closer kin. Two of the most forbidding characters in this family gal-

lery were Grandmother Phipps, a dragon who lived alone attended by 11 servants, and Aunt Nancy (Lady Astor), whose ferocious domination and lacerating wit did not preclude an extraordinary generosity.

Stars, principals, and indispensable supporting players make their way through these early chapters as the young Joyce moves from childhood to adolescence and womanhood. Schooling included a brief term at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts. She made her professional debut, not on the stage but as radio critic for the Observer. Although she had been stagestruck since the age of seven, the Grenfell theatrical career began, as such things often do, in an unforeseen way. Her impromptu take-off of a Women's Institute lecture on "Useful and Acceptable Gifts" at a 1939 party attended by producer Herbert Farjeon led to her appearance in Farjeon's "Little Revue" and changed her life.

Miss Grenfell's succession of self-portraits are candid and often critical. "I was narrow-minded, prejudiced, self-centered, and self-righteous," she confesses at one point in a burst of mea culpa. At another point, she admits that "we Phipps women are bossy." Yet this sharp observation of herself and others is balanced by a generous ability to appreciate. Friendships endure time and separations. Among others, she pays tributes to Richard Addinsell (longtime composer-collaborator),

Walter de la Mare, Max Adrian, Myra Hess, Ruth Draper (a genius but not an encourager), Laurier Lister, Victor Steibel, and in a particularly eloquent passage, her beloved "Roggie."

The deft precision of her prose enhances the pleasure of Miss Grenfell's company: "He held her in esteem, a chilling place, but better than nowhere. . . . Observation was my strong point and that is the reason I learned little at school. . . . The sex war was a gentle thing when I was in my teens. . . . You could park at least four double-decker buses in the [Cliveden] hall [whose fireplace took] logs the size of a stout twelve-year-old boy. . . . Some people get a lift from strong drink; I get it from singing. . . . The standard was so low it was funny — but not funny enough. . . . He was a pear-shaped man . . . with ears that looked as if they had been taken off, ironed out, and put back on like tea-pot handles. . . . He bit into [an egg-and-tomato sandwich] as if it tasted of nothing. . . ."

As for the prose and pictorial pleasures enjoyed as a result of accepting Miss Grenfell's invitation, I quote a fan postcard she received after doing her first big BBC broadcast. It said, "Dear Madam, thank you very much." I'll second that!

John Beaufort is a free-lance critic and feature writer.

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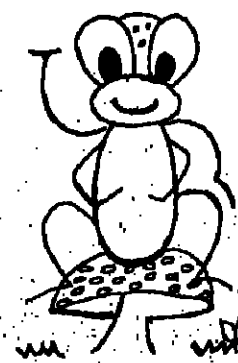
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French/German

L'U.R.S.S. n'est pas un creuset

[Extraits d'un article paraissant en anglais à la page 21]

par Elizabeth Pond
Ecrit spécialement
pour The Christian Science Monitor

Moscou — « Nous sommes une petite colonie de la Russie — en 1976! » glapit un Géorgien à un visiteur à Tbilissi. « Que ne serions-nous pas aujourd'hui si nous n'étions pas une colonie de la Russie? »

Pour les critiques géorgiennes, baltes et de l'Asie centrale, le fait que les Russes régissent les petites minorités soviétiques est une insulte à l'identité nationale. Et l'Union soviétique est une anomalie; le dernier empire dans un monde post-colonial.

Pour les Russes, toutefois, qui forment 53,4% de la population soviétique et qui dominent la vie politique, économique et culturelle, il n'est que naturel qu'ils soient les « grands frères » dans un pays comprenant 104 nationalités reconnues.

Ce qui arrivera aux 113 millions de non Russes de l'Union soviétique déterminera la tranquillité ou la turbulence futures de la vie soviétique bien plus que toute autre question intérieure. La préoccupation de classe étreinte des intellectuels au sujet de la liberté, la pénurie de viande chronique et par conséquent une économie inefficace sont autant de raisons d'irritation mineures comparativement à la dynamique en puissance qu'est la question des nationalités.

Dans une population politiquement apathique sous d'autres rapports, le nationalisme est l'unique question qui pourrait saisir l'imagination de masses importantes et faire converger le mécontentement contre le dirigisme de Moscou.

Néanmoins, jusqu'à présent, la crise que les observateurs occidentaux ont anticipée depuis longtemps n'a pas pris

corps. Il n'y a pas eu d'éclat d'émeutes anti-russes depuis que les troupes armées se sont précipitées pour réprimer les manifestations de Kaunas en Lituanie en 1972.

Il y a plusieurs raisons pour que Moscou ait réussi jusqu'à présent à prolonger le vieil empire des tsars. Elles comprennent :

- Des stimulants positifs, tels que l'intégration et le développement économiques d'un bout à l'autre de toute l'Union soviétique, l'accès au monde technologique moderne grâce aux techniques russes, des occasions pour les chefs indigènes russifiés de se joindre à l'élite gouvernementale et de partager les bénéfices de l'élite et, pour les habitants de l'Asie centrale, l'affranchissement des guerres locales épuisantes, ainsi qu'une amélioration spectaculaire de l'instruction, de la santé, de l'hygiène et de la qualité de la vie sous le gouvernement des Soviets.

- Des facteurs neutres tels que la tolérance envers la culture locale dans une certaine limite.

- Des sanctions négatives résultant d'un gouvernement autoritaire, l'attribution de pouvoir réel à des secrétaires en second Slaves (Russes, Biélorusses, Ukrainiens) dans les partis communistes de toute première importance dans les républiques; le ferme contrôle russe de la police et, en particulier, de la police secrète dans toutes les républiques; la répression des rares soulèvements nationalistes; l'émigration slave dans les régions où se trouvent des minorités et surtout dans leurs capitales; la dispersion des recrues afin que des unités militaires nationales ne puissent se former et servir leur propre république; les purges mortelles des leaders communistes locaux des années 30, celles moins mortelles en Letonie des années 50 et en Ukraine des années 70.

La politique soviétique au sujet des nationalités a fait bien des zigzags. Les Russes ont promis d'abord l'autonomie

aux diverses nationalités quand ils firent de la surenchère aux Blancs pour obtenir des loyalismes non russes, quand le vieil empire russe s'écroula dans la guerre civile.

Toutefois, à mesure que les Bolcheviks (sous le centralisateur le plus impitoyable de tous, le Géorgien Joseph Staline) consolidaient leur pouvoir, ils renièrent leurs promesses. Ils envoyèrent l'Armée Rouge en Géorgie et ailleurs pour supprimer les tentatives d'autonomie, ils forcèrent les nomades de l'Asie centrale à devenir sédentaires, ils liquidèrent leurs propres chefs communistes nationaux.

Légalement, les 15 républiques soviétiques sont égales et chacune a le droit de faire sécession. Dans la pratique, toutefois, n'importe lequel des leaders locaux suspecté de « nationalisme bourgeois » ou même de favoriser l'économie locale est rapidement mis au rebut. Et les citoyens ordinaires qui soulèvent cette question — comme les quatorze Arméniens condamnés en 1974 pour avoir proposé un référendum sur la sécession — peuvent s'attendre à être condamnés à des peines d'emprisonnement.

Un tel contrôle de Moscou est justifié idéologiquement par l'argument qu'un parti prolétarien national centralisé et une économie planifiée doivent toujours être au tout premier plan.

Sous Khrouchtchev et Brejnev le but a été le « rapprochement », une « croissance côte à côte » des diverses nationalités aboutissant à un peuple soviétique « unifié » sans différences. Ce concept est comparable à la théorie du creuset américain.

Mais ici le contenu du creuset refuse de fondre. Cela conduit à des discussions chroniques, déguisées au sujet de la « russification » dans l'instruction, des versions de l'histoire, et des populations urbaines dans les républiques nationales.

Les Latviens se plaignent parce que

la main d'œuvre slave est importée pour les nouvelles usines et que les ingénieurs russes qui arrivent obtiennent des appartements en un an, alors que les Latviens doivent attendre cinq ans.

Les vendeurs estoniens refusent de vendre leurs meilleurs produits aux clients russes. Les Lituanais s'accrochent à leur héritage catholique romain aussi bien en tant que religion que comme une forteresse nationale contre l'empiétement de l'athéisme des slaves.

Dans toutes les républiques nationales la jeune génération, qui a grandi au milieu de la prédication soviétique au sujet du flétrissement du nationalisme, se jette encore dans les études universitaires de langues, littéraires et historiques indigènes. La concurrence est jusqu'à 45 candidats pour chacune des places disponibles pour ce genre d'études.

De plus, de violentes querelles font rage, surtout en Géorgie en ce moment même, à propos des pressions de Moscou pour augmenter l'assistance dans les écoles élémentaires de langue russe plutôt que dans celles de langue géorgienne et pour rendre les dissertations en langue russe obligatoires au niveau universitaire.

Les républiques minoritaires s'accrochent de façon diverse à ces tensions: les Géorgiens conservent leur propre mini-culte de Staline, ils boycottent les écoles élémentaires de langue russe et font des gorges chaudes de sous-entendus politiques à double sens.

Les Estoniens limitent tranquillement leurs nouvelles usines (et ainsi toute affluence de travailleurs slaves), leur économie est bien plus efficiente que celle des Russes, avec autant d'indépendance que possible et par conséquent ils jouissent du niveau de vie le plus élevé de l'Union soviétique.

Les Ukrainiens jouent pour la mise à plus grosse, s'engageant dans des manœuvres de faction pour obtenir le pouvoir suprême à Moscou.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Monday, November 8, 1976

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum
(une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

N'ayez pas de crainte

Craindre une chose ou l'autre paraît normal dans l'existence humaine. Parfois — mais seulement quand nous utilisons ce mot trop à la légère — nous pensons que jusqu'à un certain point la crainte est nécessaire pour survivre, comme lorsque nous apprenons à un enfant qu'il y a danger à traverser une rue à grand trafic ou que nous mettons en garde quelqu'un qui a commencé à prendre des drogues contre la menace que l'avenir peut lui réserver. Mais dans le sens le plus élevé, dans des cas tels que nous n'essayons pas d'inculquer la crainte, mais de faire en sorte que la personne devienne consciente de la nécessité d'usage de prudence. Dans ce cas il n'y a pas de mal à être craint.

La crainte qui fait du tort n'est pas une prudence avisée, mais un pressentiment agité de malheur, le sentiment chronique d'anxiété et de préoccupation — il n'est pas nécessaire de le décrire plus amplement. La Science Chrétienne offre une réponse à une telle crainte, la réponse de la paix et de la domination fournies si abondamment par les enseignements de la Bible. La base de cette réponse est la totalité et la bonté de Dieu, et la perfection de l'homme à Son image.

Ce ne sont pas simplement des mots de réconfort dont nous avons besoin, mais l'assurance profonde et ample — l'assurance qu'au-delà de notre crainte, au-delà

de ce qui semble la substance du mal qui pourrait être, se trouve une réalité qui ne connaît rien d'antagoniste à notre bien-être et à notre bonheur. Ces paroles de Christ Jésus, « ne craignez point, petit troupeau; car votre Père a trouvé bon de vous donner le royaume », comportaient plus qu'un réconfort, plus qu'une déclaration facile et aimable.

Il n'est pas très utile de dire à quelqu'un : « N'ayez pas de crainte. » Souvent la crainte n'est pas surmontée aussi facilement. Mais Jésus disait beaucoup plus que cela. Il se référait à la condition spirituelle de l'auditeur, à votre condition spirituelle et à la mienne, au-delà de toute l'évidence qui soutient nos craintes. Il nous disait ce que la Science Chrétienne répète avec une clarté merveilleuse, savoir que la présence suprême, Dieu, le Père de tous, soutient notre bien-être — le royaume des cieux que nous pouvons trouver au-delà de nous-mêmes. Et qu'y a-t-il qui puisse bien contrecarrer Son soutien ou nous en priver? Rien!

Mais ce « rien » peut paraître si persuasif. Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la Science Chrétienne, donne aux expériences mauvaises par lesquelles nous passons le nom de simples croyances. Mais elle ne relâche jamais son insistance

sur le fait que la croyance au mal doit être manée, corrigée, surmontée par la compréhension de la totalité et de la bonté de Dieu. Elle dit, par exemple : « Puisque Dieu est Tout, il n'y a pas de place pour Sa dissemblance. Seul, Dieu, l'Esprit, créa tout, et dit que cela était bon. Donc le mal, étant contraire au bien, est irréel, et ne peut être le produit de Dieu. »

C'est là la vérité fondamentale, de même que la Science Chrétienne réitère les enseignements de Jésus. Il y a une autre déclaration de Mrs. Eddy qui peut avoir une signification très spécifique pour nous quand nous semblons entourés par la crainte — il y a de nombreuses déclarations de ce genre, ainsi que tout lecteur s'en apercevra, mais celle-ci peut signifier quelque chose de spécial parallèlement aux paroles de Jésus citées ci-dessus. Elle dit : « Qu'importe si la croyance est la tuberculose! Dieu importe plus à l'homme que sa croyance, et moins nous admettons la matière et ses lois, plus nous possédons l'immortalité. »

Jésus a dit que Dieu « a trouvé bon » de nous donner le bien. La volonté et la voie de Dieu remplacent tout prétendu mal dans notre existence. Dieu importe plus à l'homme que le mal, quel qu'il soit. Il nous importe plus que toutes nos craintes, en

dépît de ce que celles-ci peuvent être. Pour ne plus craindre le mal, nous devons finalement nous rendre compte que dans l'univers de Dieu, qui est bon — et il n'existe qu'un univers — le mal est irréel, inconnu. Donc même au milieu de la crainte dans notre existence humaine — de la croyance en ce qui n'est pas de Dieu — nous pouvons avoir confiance en la véritable substance, la substance du bien. Nous n'avons pas besoin d'avoir peur même de nos craintes, parce que la bonté et l'amour de Dieu envers nous sont tout ce qui existe réellement.

Nous pouvons ressentir la paix ici et maintenant ainsi qu'un véritable épanouissement de bien venant du Père pour entretenir cette paix.

*Luc 12:32: « Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures », p. 339; Science et Santé, p. 423.

*Christian Science prononce « trinité » « trinité »

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clef des Ecritures » de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec le texte anglais en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou la commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Fürchte dich nicht!

Sich vor diesem oder jenem zu fürchten scheint im menschlichen Leben ganz normal zu sein. Mitunter — aber nur wenn wir das Wort nicht in seiner genaueren Bedeutung benutzen — glauben wir, ein gewisses Maß an Furcht sei notwendig, um am Leben zu bleiben. Wir machen z. B. ein Kind mit den Gefahren vertraut, denen man sich beim Überqueren einer verkehrsreichen Straße aussetzen, oder weisen jemanden, der mit Drogen experimentiert, warnend darauf hin, daß die Zukunft für ihn düster sein kann. Im besten Sinne aber suchen wir in solchen Fällen nicht Furcht einzufüllen, sondern die Betreffenden darauf aufmerksam zu machen, daß sie Um-sicht walten lassen müssen. Solch ein Bewußtsein kann nicht schaden.

Die Furcht, die einem schadet, ist nicht die angemessene Vorsicht, sondern das beunruhigende Vorherrschen des Bösen, das chronische Gefühl von Angst und Sorge — wir brauchen es nicht eingehender zu beschreiben. Die Christliche Wissenschaft verleiht uns Freiheit von derartiger Furcht, sie verleiht uns Frieden und Herrschaft, die uns durch die in der Bibel enthaltenen Lehren in so reicher Fülle zu Teil werden. Diese Lösung beruht auf der Tatsache, daß Gott Alles und gut ist und daß der zu Seinem Ebenbild erschaffene Mensch vollkommen ist.

Wir brauchen nicht bloße Worte des Trostes, sondern eine absolute Zustimmung — eine Zusage, daß es hinter unserer Furcht, hinter dem, was die Substanz des Bösen zu sein scheint, das eintretende könnte, eine Wirklichkeit gibt, die von allem unberührt ist, was unserem Wohlergehen und Glück entgegensteht. Als Christus Jesus sagte: „Fürchte dich nicht, du kleine Herde! Denn es ist eures Vaters Wohlgefallen, euch das Reich zu geben“, war das mehr als nur ein Trost, mehr als eine oberflächliche und wohlklingende Erklärung.

Es hat keinen großen Wert, zu jemandem zu sagen: „Fürchte dich nicht.“ Oft läßt sich die Furcht nicht so leicht abstreifen. Aber Jesus sagte weit mehr als das. Er bezog sich auf die geistige Verfassung seiner Zuhörer, auf ihre und meine geistige Verfassung, die jenseits all des Augenscheinlichen besteht, der unsrer Befürchtungen bestärkt. Er sagte uns, was die Christliche Wissenschaft mit wunderbarer Klarheit wiederholt, nämlich daß die ertübende Gegenwart, Gott, unser aller Vater, für

unser Wohlergehen sorgt — das Himmelreich, das wir in uns selbst finden können. Und was kann schon Seiner Fürsorge widersprechen oder sie uns vorenthalten? Nichts!

Aber dieses „Nichts“ kann so überzeugend aussehen. Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, bezeichnet das Böse in unserem Leben als eine bloße Annahme. Aber beharrlich betont sie immer wieder, daß wir uns mit dem Glauben an das Böse auseinandersetzen, ihn berichtigen und durch das Verständnis von Gottes Allheit und Güte überwinden müssen. Sie sagt z. B.: „Da Gott Alles ist, gibt es keinen Raum für Sein Ungleichnis. Gott, Geist, allein hat alles geschaffen, und Er nannte es gut. Daher ist das Böse, weil es das Gegenteil vom Guten ist, unwirklich und kann nicht das Zeugnis Gottes sein.“

Dies ist die grundlegende Wahrheit, von der die Christliche Wissenschaft ausgeht, wenn sie die Lehren Jesu neu formuliert. Noch eine andere Erklärung Mrs. Eddys kann von ganz besonderer Bedeutung für uns sein, wenn wir von Furcht umgeben zu sein scheinen. Ja, es gibt viele solche Erklärungen, wie jeder Leser entdecken wird, aber diese eine kann als Parallele zu den bereits zitierten Worten Jesu von besonderer Bedeutung sein. Mrs. Eddy sagt: „Was schadet es, wenn die Annahme schwindet, daß Gott ist, mehr für den Menschen als seine Annahme, und je weniger wir die Materie und ihre Gesetze anerkennen, desto mehr Unsterblichkeit besitzen wir.“

Jesus erklärte, daß es Gottes „Wohlgefallen“ sei, uns das Gute zu geben. Gottes Wille und Weg habt alles sogenannte Böse in unserem Leben auf. Gott ist mehr für den Menschen als alles Böse. Er ist mehr für uns als alle unsere Ängste, ganz gleich, was wir fürchten. Wenn wir aufhören wollen, uns vor dem Bösen zu fürchten, müssen wir schließlich erkennen, daß in Gottes Universum des Guten — und es gibt nur ein Universum — das Böse unwirklich, unbekannt ist. Wir können also, auch wenn wir uns im menschlichen Leben fürchten — auch wenn wir an das glauben, was nicht von Gott stammt —, auf die wahre Substanz, auf die Substanz des Guten, vertrauen. Wir brauchen uns nicht zu fürchten, auch nicht vor unseren Ängsten, weil Gottes Güte und Liebe zu uns alles ist, was es in Wirklichkeit gibt.

Wir können hier schon in diesem Augenblick Frieden finden. Und von unserem himmlischen Vater fließt uns schon jetzt wirklich alles Gute zu, um diesen Frieden zu fördern.

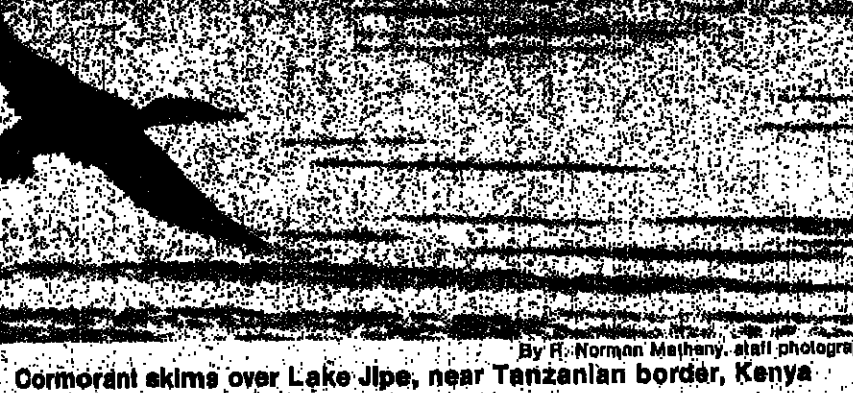
*Lucas 12:32: „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift“, S. 339; „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit“, S. 423.

*Christian Science spricht „trinité“ „trinité“

Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift“ von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite druckverknüpft. Das Buch kann in den Lesesälen der Christlichen Wissenschaft bestellt werden oder an Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Ausführliche oder andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache erhält auf Anfrage der Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

By F. Norman Matheny, staff photographer



Cormorant skims over Lake Ilpe, near Tanzanian border, Kenya

UdSSR: Kein Schmelztiegel

[Ausschnitte aus einem Artikel, der auf Seite 21 in englischer Sprache erscheint.]

Von Elizabeth Pond
Sonderbericht
für den
Christian Science Monitor

Moskau — „Wir sind heute, im Jahre 1976, eine kleine Kolonie Rußlands!“ sagte ein Georgier zu einem Besucher in Tbilissi. „Was wären wir heute nicht, wenn wir nicht eine Kolonie Rußlands wären?“

Für georgische, baltische und zentralasiatische Kritiker ist die Tatsache, daß Rußland den kleineren sowjetischen Minderheiten Vorschriften macht, eine Verletzung der nationalen Identität. Die Sowjetunion ist eine Anomalie: das letzte Imperium in einer Welt, in der der Kolonialismus sein Ende gefunden hat.

Für die Russen jedoch, die 53,4 Prozent der sowjetischen Bevölkerung ausmachen und das politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Leben beherrschen, ist die Sowjetunion ein Land, das die Interessen der Russen und der anderen Nationalitäten des Landes schützt.

Was mit den in der Sowjetunion lebenden 113 Millionen Nichtrussen geschieht, wird die zukünftige Ruhe oder Unruhe des sowjetischen Lebens weit mehr bestimmen als irgendeine andere innenpolitische Frage. Die englischen Sorgen der intellektuellen Klasse über die Freiheit, die chronische und daher gewöhnliche Fleischknappheit und eine unzulängliche Wirtschaft, dies alles sind Argernisse von geringer Bedeutung, verglichen mit dem potentiellen Dynamik der Nationalitätenfrage.

In einer sonst politisch gleichgültigen Bevölkerung ist der Nationalismus die einzige Frage, die große Menschenmassen dazu aufwiegen könnte, sich in ihrer Unzufriedenheit gegen die Führung Moskaus zu wenden.

Es ist jedoch die Krise, die westliche Beobachter schon lange erwartet haben, noch nicht eingetreten.

Es hat keine anti-russischen Erhebungen gegeben, seit Truppen eingesetzt wurden, um 1972 die Demonstrationen in Kaunas, Litauen, niederzuwerfen. Es gibt mehrere Gründe für Moskaus bisherigen Erfolg, das alte Zarenreich fortzusetzen:

- Positiver Ansporn, wie z. B. wirtschaftliche Eingliederung und Entwicklung in der gesamten Sowjetunion; Zugang zur modernen technologischen Welt durch russische Beziehungen; Gelegenheiten für russifizierte einheimische Führer, in die regierende Elite aufgenommen zu werden und sich die Zentralstaaten am Ende der erschöpften lokalen Kriege ein drastisch verbessertes Erziehungswesen, bessere Gesundheitsfürsorge und ein besserer Lebensstandard unter sowjetischer Herrschaft.

- Solche neutralen Faktoren wie Toleranz gegenüber der örtlichen Kultur innerhalb festgelegter Grenzen.

- Negative Strafen durch autoritäre Herrschaft, die Erteilung wirklicher Macht an slawische (russische) weiblauer

Die Sowjetunion hat in ihrer Behandlung der Nationalitäten einen Zickzackkurs verfolgt. Zuerst versprochen die Roten den verschiedenen Nationalitäten Autonomie, als sich das alte russische Reich durch den Bürgerkrieg auflöste.

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und sie die Weißen in dem Versuch, die Nichtrussen für sich zu gewinnen, überboten.

Als sich dann die Bolschewisten (unter dem skrupellosen Organisator aller, nämlich dem Georgier Josef Stalin) zusammenschlossen, hielten sie jedoch nicht ihre Versprechen. Sie schickten die Rote Armee nach Georgien und in andere Gebiete um Versuche, die Autonomie zu erlangen, zu unterdrücken; sie machten die zentralasiatischen Nomaden mit Gewalt selbsthaft; sie besetzten die bodenständige nationale kommunistische Führerschaft.

Leut Gesetz sind die 15 Sowjetrepubliken gleichgestellt, und jede hat das Recht, sich loszusagen. In Wirklichkeit aber wird mit örtlichen Führern, die unter dem Verdacht „bürgerlichen Nationalismus“ stehen oder daß sie wirtschaftlich ihre Republik begünstigen, kurzer Prozeß gemacht und gewöhnliche Bürger, die diese Frage aufwerfen — wie die 14 Armenier, die 1974 verurteilt wurden, weil sie ein Referendum über die Loslösung vorschlugen — können mit Gefängnisstrafen rechnen.

Wird die Sowjetunion demnach begründet, daß ein zentralisiertes, das ganze Land umfassende proletarisches Partei und Staats der zentralisierten Wirtschaft mangelnde Vorrang eingeräumt werden.

Unter Chruschtschow und Breschnew war das Ziel „Herstellung freundschaftlicher Beziehungen“ ein „Zusammenschluß“ der verschiedenen Nationalitäten, was zu einem einheitlichen „sowjetischen Volk“ führen sollte. Diese Vorstellung läßt sich mit der amerikanischen Theorie des Schmelztiegels vergleichen.

Aber hier will der Inhalt des Tiegels einfach nicht schmelzen! Dies führt zu immer wieder aufsteigenden verächtlichen Argumenten über die „Russifizierung“ des Erziehungswesens, geschichtlichen Aufzeichnungen und des Staatsbewußtseins in den nationalen Republiken.

Die Letzen beklagen sich, daß die wieche Arbeitskräfte für neue Fabriken

hereingebracht werden und daß neu zugezogene russische Ingenieure Wohnungen in einem Jahr erhalten, während die Letzten fünf Jahre warten müssen.

Esländische Angestellte verkaufen ihre besten Waren nicht an russische Kunden. Die Litauer halten an ihrem römisch-katholischen Erbe fest — als Religion und als nationaler Schutz gegen die eindringenden atheistischen Slawen.

In all den nationalen Republiken strömt die jüngere Generation, die inmitten der sowjetischen Lehren über das Nachlassen des Nationalitätsgefühls aufgewachsen ist, noch immer zur Universität, um Kurse in ihrer Muttersprache, ihrer Literatur und Geschichte zu belegen. Der Andrang ist groß — um jeden freien Platz in diesen Studienfächern bewerben sich etwa 40 Studenten.

Außerdem sind heftige Auseinandersetzungen im Gange — vor allem jetzt in Georgien — über den von Moskau ausgeübten Druck, der Besatz der russischsprachigen Grundschulen anzukündigen, in denen russische Studenten und sowjetische Universitäten zur Pflicht zu machen, daß Dissertationen in russischer Sprache geschrieben werden.

Die Republiken der Minderheiten passieren sich dem Druck auf verschiedene Art und Weise an. Die Georgier erhalten ihren eigenen „Mini-Stalin-Kult“ und treiben die boykottierten die russischsprachigen Grundschulen und machen sich die politischen Doppelsinnigkeiten zunutze.

Die Estländer beschränken im stillen die Zahl ihrer neuen Fabriken (und dadurch den Zustrom slawischer Arbeiter). Sie betreiben eine viel erfolgreichere Wirtschaft als die Russen und bekommen so weit wie möglich ihre Selbstständigkeit. Als Folge davon erfreuen sie sich des höchsten Lebensstandards in der Sowjetunion.

Die Ukrainer haben sich das höchste Ziel gesetzt: sie manövrieren eigenmächtig um an die höchste sowjetische Position in Moskau zu gelangen.

OPINION AND...

UNESCO in danger

By David Anable

United Nations, N.Y. "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be built."

Now there's a splendidly resounding sentiment — straight from the Preamble of UNESCO's 1945 Constitution. Today the big question is: What is in the minds of the men and women now in Nairobi for UNESCO's biennial General Conference — confrontation or "peace"?

The UN's Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization has reached a turning point. If the explosive air of political polarization which has marked UNESCO's recent past continues, then it is entirely possible that the organization will split apart. Certainly pressures will mount for an American withdrawal.

If, on the other hand, "peace" is uppermost in the minds of delegates, then clear opportunities for compromise exist. That in turn could pave the way for revived American and Western participation in an organization which over the past 30 years has made real and positive contributions to world education and culture. It will be a sad day for what must become an increasingly neighborly world if this chance for cooperation is missed.

The next few weeks in Nairobi will be crucial. From the point of view of the West, especially the United States, two big issues tower over all the others: the attitude of UNESCO's 137 members toward Israel, and toward free-

dom of information. Both are prickly, sensitive subjects. But it's worth trying to examine them with as an impartial, Martian-like gaze as possible before the Nairobi debate gets too excited.

Israel. At the last UNESCO General Conference in 1974 three decisions were taken which vitally affected Israel. Together they were seen in Washington as essentially political. The result was a U.S. congressional amendment cutting off American dues to UNESCO until "concrete steps" were taken to correct them. Today the U.S., which normally foots one quarter of UNESCO's budget, owes it some \$39 million.

The first of those 1974 decisions was to withhold UNESCO aid to Israel until it respected earlier UNESCO calls to stop archaeological digs near Muslim and Jewish holy places in east Jerusalem. Today, however, the excavations still are continuing and there is virtually no hope at all of compromise on this dispute, in the foreseeable future.

The second 1974 decision was a vote not to include Israel in one of the UNESCO regional groups through which much of the organization's work is done. Here a way out is possible.

The 40-member Executive Board has recommended that the regional groups themselves decide their own membership. If the Nairobi conference accepts this idea, if the European group then votes Israel in, and if the full conference then goes along with the result, Israel

will at last have a UNESCO "home." It'll be tough and go, but the odds favor success.

The third 1974 decision took the form of a resolution condemning Israeli educational policies in the occupied territories. UNESCO Director General Amadou M'Bow was asked to assume the responsibility instead. The Arabs have made it clear that this dispute will be their main target in Nairobi.

Much now hinges around whether, and in what form, Israel will accept a UNESCO mission to examine the situation... plus the Arab reaction. Compromise will be difficult, but perhaps not impossible.

At best, therefore, a two-out-of-three success ratio on these Israeli issues is possible. If that is achieved the U.S. administration is expected to argue that UNESCO's "downhill" trend is halted and to ask Congress to let the frozen U.S. funds flow again.

Information. For some years UNESCO has been discussing how to build up information networks and the mass media in developing nations. It is a natural part of the emergence of these nations from the colonial era when all communications went to and from London or Paris or Brussels or other European capitals.

Because many young nations do not have the thriving private sector needed to support a Western-style free press, governments tend to become involved. That's understandable. So too is the anxiety, not always justified, that "news" is all one way — from the rich world to the poor in a culture-submerging flood.

What has alarmed Western observers of late, however, has been an apparent subversion of the debate by totalitarian governments for their own ends. UNESCO-sponsored meetings (though not UNESCO itself) have echoed with calls for greater government control over the media, boding ill not just for the developing world's press but for Western correspondents and news agencies too.

The most obnoxious manifestation of this from a Western viewpoint is a "draft declaration" on the mass media sent to Nairobi by a UNESCO meeting of "experts" in Paris last December. According to American officials, the whole document is "beyond salvation." It represents, in their eyes, an attempt by the Russians and East Europeans to gain international "sanctification" for their rigidly state-directed media.

It is likely that the declaration will be handed over to a new 25-member committee specifically set up to handle, behind the scenes, precisely such hotly contested issues. But this, or other information-related proposals, are pushed through the conference against Western opposition the reaction is certain to be strong.

Hence the danger of a UNESCO split if both the Israeli and information issues end in bitter disagreement — and the hopes of reconciliation if both can be at least partially turned aside.

Mr. Anable is the Monitor's correspondent at the United Nations.

Jazz violins — and what else is not new?

Melvin Maddocks

Wouldn't it be nice if nostalgia just went away? Then we could all feel nostalgic for nostalgia and sit around murmuring: "Remember the good old days when we remembered the good old days?"

Alas, for the moment nostalgia seems here to stay, and our standard question is: "What else is not new?" "King Kong" has returned, chest a-thumping. Sears, Roebuck boasts a whole furniture section classified as "Victorian Reproductions." In fashions everything but the hoop skirt is back. And that isn't meant as a suggestion.

One's heart also sinks a bit to read the advertisement, "Paul Whiteman Rediscovered," and to hear a 20-piece band in 1920s tuxedos solemnly playing the slightly rickety arrangements of the self-styled "King of Jazz," straight from the archives. The cornetist presuming to reproduce the notes of Bix Beiderbecke even uses a vintage hat as his mute.

Ah, the compulsions of the Age of the Replica! The latest specialty of nostalgia appears to be to revive old jazz violinists, and another alumnus of the Paul Whiteman Orchestra — no replica, he — is very much with us these days: Joe Venuti, America's greatest living jazz violinist.

"Ancient is beautiful" according to the games of revival, and Venuti seems willing to let people think he is an octogenarian, all in the best interests of nostalgia. Actually, Giuseppe Venuti was born aboard ship Sept. 1,

1903, in transit from Italy to (as it turned out) South Philadelphia.

South Philadelphia is noted as the home of musicians and prizefighters. If Venuti appeared on "What's My Line?" the shrewd guess would be: prizefighter. A big, barrel-chested man, Venuti once supported Jack Benny in a vaudeville act, during which Benny quipped: "This man will take on anyone in the house."

Before he starts playing, Venuti still looks like a superannuated bouncer, waiting to hand on the instrument to its proper owner with a mumbled threat as he comes panting on the stand — late again. When Venuti tunes up, such confusion vanishes. He may still have the locker-room sense of humor that nalls the shoe of a time-tapping piano player to the floor — Bing Crosby, still another Whiteman alumnus, swears to the story — but Venuti is an accomplished musician who was once offered a chair with the Detroit Symphony. In his recorded duets with Yehudi Menuhin he is by no means disgraced as a technician.

Listening to Venuti with his South Philadelphia friend, the guitarist Eddie Lang, on 1920s recordings like "I Got Rhythm" and "Some of These Days," one hears the Venuti of today — this tough bear of a man with the delicately dancing attack that never exceeds his reach, but

seidom falls short either. For here is one of those talents kept vital by being true to itself rather than by self-revision and grand illusions of development.

The violin as a jazz instrument has its limits. It lacks volume. As for tone, there is almost no way to give a violin a fine jazz rasp — the roughened voice that sings the blues. Incurably cheerful as a cricket when it swings, the violin can barely play the blues at all. Everything the violin can do in jazz its wind counterpart, the clarinet, can do better. Yet Venuti — like Eddie South, like Stuff Smith, like Ray Nance — has triumphed over the natural instinct of the violin to play Bach, without vulgarizing the instrument in the process.

Nostalgia likes to travel in pairs, and so there is another jazz violinist staging a second tour-of-revival in the States — Stéphane Grappelly, who became famous as a member of the Quintet of the Hot Club of France over 40 years ago, playing first fiddle to Django Reinhardt's guitar.

If Venuti looks like an old heavyweight champ, Grappelly looks like a French Impressionist painter, as impersonated by Maurice Chevalier. He can play even "Sweet Georgia Brown" with aristocratic elegance, plus a touch of gypsy-soul. He is the most humorous of jazz violinists.

Venuti and Grappelly are nostalgia as living continuity rather than flash-frozen-and-quick-thawed past. May they both be fiddling long after both King Kongs have been wiped out by a squadron of moths.

Australia's Governor-General: a target for tomatoes

By Denis Warner

Melbourne, and even threatened with physical violence. As a non-general can scarcely be entertaining for that anyone can lay without feeling a trace of boredom is surely limited and when a shower of tomatoes, eggs, stones and paint is included the burden of office must be heavy indeed. Only a very small minority is responsible for this boogymism. A much larger section of the community condemns it but are also insistent that Sir John resign.

The argument is that when the Queen visits Australia early next year, she must not be put to the risk of a mob demonstration against Sir John. Even among those who believe that Sir John was right to null his colors to the magnificent, there are grave doubts, not so much about the loyalty but about the wisdom and propriety of Sir John's dismissal of the Whitlam Government. Through all alibis of the political spectrum there is now a feeling that a constitutional change is needed. Mr. Billy

When the electorate confirmed Malcolm Fraser in office by an overwhelming vote, it seemed that Sir John's bold decision to break precedent had been vindicated and that the constitutional hubbub would soon die down.

If anything, it appears to have gained strength and significance. Angry Labor supporters have not forgiven Sir John and a small minority have been keeping up a noisy barrage against him ever since.

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best of these public functions of a governor-general can scarcely be entertaining for that anyone can lay without feeling a trace of boredom is surely limited and when a shower of tomatoes, eggs, stones and paint is included the burden of office must be heavy indeed. Only a very small minority is responsible for this boogymism. A much larger section of the community condemns it but are also insistent that Sir John resign.

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have broadened, the British government and governors has been gradually discontinued. Today all are Australians.

But in a country with a relatively small population the field from which to select five popular and one governor-general is necessarily limited. Inevitably, perhaps, political parties have tended to reward their faithful servants — and sometimes to get them out of the way — by offering them a period in government house.

Two Australians appointed in this way by Liberal governments performed with great dignity — the late Lord Casey and Sir Paul Hasluck. Both took their duties very seriously.

By an ironic twist, Sir John, who dismissed Gough E. Whitlam had been appointed by Mr. Whitlam. If Mr. Whitlam had suspected that he was to be so unceremoniously bundled out, he could have made a quick phone call to the Queen, who would have had no real alternative but to dismiss her governor-general.

But as Britain has drawn nearer to Europe and Australia's own international associations

COMMENTARY

Joseph C. Harsch

The U.S. and Yugoslavia

A subject touched upon lightly and carelessly during the final stage of the American presidential campaign deserves most serious attention. What should American policy be toward Yugoslavia?

In the final so-called "debate" Governor Carter let himself get trapped into asserting that he "would not go to war in Yugoslavia even if the Soviet Union sent in troops." President Ford in his responding comment said that "it is unwise for a president to signal in advance what options he might exercise if any international problem arose." Two days later Secretary of State Henry Kissinger called the latter statement "dangerous" and suggested that Mr. Carter should reconsider his views on this subject.

A particular point in the Kissinger argument is of first importance. He noted that there are two different kinds of American interests in the world. There are the formal treaty commitments to the NATO alliance, to Japan, to Australia and New Zealand, etc. There are also areas in the world where "whether we have an obligation or not, we might feel our security threatened." He cited both China and Yugoslavia as examples of places where "a successful attack on either would affect the world equilibrium and would affect the calculations of other countries, and therefore could in time affect American security, even if it didn't do so immediately."

Governor Carter was probably correct in one sense. It is unlikely that the United States would actually send its armed forces "in" to Yugoslavia "even if the Soviet Union sent in troops." In the event of a crisis over Yugoslavia other methods than overt U.S. military intervention would probably be used to counter Soviet intervention.

However, this is a subject deserving the most thoughtful and careful attention because an international crisis over Yugoslavia could happen at any moment, and could easily become overnight a far more serious problem for the United States than the Middle East or southern Africa.

Yugoslavia is a "communist" country. It may be difficult for some Americans to appreciate that a threat by one communist country to another communist country could concern the United States. But Yugoslavia is a most unusual type of communist country. Its communism is not recognized as such in Moscow. The private sector of the economy is substantial and widening. It trades mostly with the West. It is not a member of the Warsaw Pact. It is the leader of the "nonaligned" movement in the world. Its domestic and foreign policies are regarded in Moscow as heretical. It has be-

come a buffer between the Soviet empire and Western Europe. It is allied with neither, mistrusted by both, but needed by both. If it didn't exist it would have to be invented. It is in the true interests of both communities to preserve it.

But do the Soviets understand this? Would they keep hands off if they thought they saw a chance to drag Yugoslavia back into their Warsaw Pact community? The danger is precisely that the Soviets would be unable to resist the temptation to seize it.

Marshal Tito, who is to Yugoslavia what Mao Tse-tung was to China — a mixture of folk hero, boss, and king — is 86 years of age. He has done his considerable utmost over 30 years to forge his country into a true and lasting political union. But Yugoslavia is the hardest country in all Europe to unify. No other is divided so many ways by such complex cultural and ethnic differences going back even to the time Constantine divided the Roman Empire (330 A.D.). The Dalmatian Coast was left in the Western empire speaking Latin. The interior of what is now Yugoslavia went to the Eastern empire speaking Greek.

Since then it has been divided and redivided between Latins and Slavs, between Christians and Muslims, between Turkey and the Austrian Empire. The dividing lines criss-cross. Today there are in Yugoslavia Muslims, Orthodox Christians, Roman Catholic Christians, Communists and many varieties of unbelievers including prosperous peasants and successful private entrepreneurs.

Yugoslavia has not been welded into a homogeneous culture. It can't be, anymore than the Catholics and Protestants of Ulster can be blended into a single people. There are strains between these disparate peoples. Some of them are foolish enough to think that bringing in the Russians would help them. It is conceivable that in the turmoil of a struggle over the succession to Marshal Tito one faction might call for Soviet help. And the Soviets might be foolish enough to respond. They have a substantial armed force in position to drive into northern Yugoslavia.

Would it matter to the United States? Yes, enormously. If the Soviets seized Yugoslavia they would then control the Dalmatian Coast with excellent warm water ports for their Mediterranean squadron, and ample bases for their air fleets. Their propaganda would be just across the Adriatic from Italy. The southern flank of NATO would be exposed. All of Western Europe would be shaken and endangered. The only worse thing that could happen to Western Europe would be an actual Soviet invasion.

Twenty years ago in 1956 four events were happening just about this time. One was the Suez crisis, when Israel, Britain, and France attacked Egypt in a vain effort to unseat Nasser. The second was the brutal Soviet repression of the Hungarian revolution. The third was the final drafting of the treaties for the European Economic Community and Atomic Energy Community. And the fourth was a report by a special NATO committee on improving consultation among the Atlantic nations on nonmilitary matters.

These events of 20 years ago are more than past history. These issues or their consequences are still on the agenda of unfinished business:

1. The Arab-Israeli conflict, which was one facet of the Suez crisis, is still unsettled. The intervening years have seen countless raids and counter-raids and wars in 1967 and 1973. The armistices, like the Sinai agreement of last year, have left all the central issues unresolved. That conflict must not be allowed to fester much longer. An overall settlement based on UN Resolution 242 and the legitimate rights of the Palestinians should have high priority. To achieve it the United States will need to press both sides to make the concessions required for a stable solution.

2. The blocking of the Suez Canal in 1956 also dramatized how vulnerable Western Eu-

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rope was from its growing dependence on Middle East oil. Indeed, it led the Europeans to appoint a special three-man group to study the problem. They proposed a program to reduce Europe's dependence, largely through the European Atomic Energy Community.

Yet their warning was virtually ignored. In 1965, Europe was importing about 25 percent of its total energy from the Middle East. By 1972, such imports had risen to about 65 percent, in place of domestic coal. In 1973, the Europeans were defenseless against the OPEC embargo. Meanwhile, the U.S. too has become much more dependent on imported energy.

Clearly the U.S. and other major energy users need an adequate long-term policy for providing and conserving energy, which they have yet to develop. And the spread of nuclear power heightens the problem of safeguarding against the potential risks to peace and the environment.

China's emerging new class

By Ross N. Munro

Events in China of the past several weeks may constitute one of the most momentous shifts in the history of communism since Karl Marx first put pen to paper.

What foreign radicals fear is that communism has lost its second chance. Soviet Russia was communism's first chance, a source of hope and inspiration for leftists around the world during much of the first half of this century. It turned sour for some when Russia sought a temporary alliance with the Nazis in 1939 and when it crushed Eastern Europe in the 1940s and 1950s.

But perhaps most disillusioning of all was the rise of a new class which used secret police and prison camps to protect its immense power and privilege. The existence of a new class mocked what was supposed to be the primary goal and justification of communism — the abolition of classes.

Whether or not they ever called themselves Maoists, leftists around the world had their hopes rekindled by the Chinese revolution. With its emphasis on the masses and its public opposition to elitism the message of the Chinese revolution for so many leftists was that a communist system didn't necessarily have to evolve into a monolithic, elitist system.

At the core of Maoism, particularly during the past decade, has been the recognition that there is a tendency in any communist regime for a new class, a privileged new elite, to emerge as it did in the Soviet Union. Chairman Mao Tse-tung felt this danger was all the greater in China with its age-old elitist tradition. Perhaps the chief antidote he prescribed was periodic political convulsions every seven to 10 years which would keep the emerging elite in check, which would prevent the rise of a new class, and which would keep China on the road to an egalitarian society.

Mao's widow, Chiang Ching, and the three other radicals who have been purged were the chief proponents of this line.

Whether they took this position for ultimately selfish reasons, as a justification for their own attempts to acquire power, is almost a secondary question in historical terms. What was important was that they were the upholders of this Maoist line favoring continuing attacks on the emerging new class and, now that they have been purged, there are no leaders on the horizon who appear committed to this line.

In recent years radicals at the grass-roots level around China could criticize factory managers and party officials knowing that their radical allies in Peking would come to their aid if local officials tried to suppress them. Both the local and the Peking radicals might have been pursuing their own selfish aims but, again, what is important is that they were up-

holding the anti-elitist strain of Maoism. Now the powerful radicals and the center on whom the local radicals relied have been wiped out and so the power equation in China, right down to the factory level, has been changed overnight.

Today we can say with a high degree of certainty that there will be another episode in China like the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s which dislodged, or at least chastened, tens of thousands of government bureaucrats and party officials. This is not to say there will not be major conflicts, even violent ones, in China in the future. One can easily write scenarios of future clashes based on class, age, region, or special interest but the prospects for a successful challenge to elitism are dim.

In the short run this will pay (remendous dividends). The next decade, in fact, may well be the golden decade for 20th-century China. The end of the radicals' stifling hold on culture and life-style, for one thing, will make China a more amenable place to live in. There will be more latitude given to artistic expression and the eschewing of drabness in clothing and life-style will no longer be automatically considered counterrevolutionary.

On the economic front the next decade should witness a spurt in industrial and agricultural development and a discernible rise in the standard of living. This is because the bureaucrats and officials who have been attacked and harassed for 10 years will no longer have to be so cautious and will be able to take forceful charge of the economy and the bureaucracy.

But the opposite side of this coin is that as they take charge, as they put the goal of economic growth in first place, they and the factory managers and the commune leaders will all acquire more power and ultimately more privilege. That's a roundabout way of saying that a new class will be firmly in charge of China a decade from now.

There is little doubt that Hua Kuo-feng and his allies recognize this danger and will try to contract it. We can expect to witness noisy and energetic political campaigns in the coming months and years. Elitism in education, the arrogance of bureaucrats, the gap between factory managers and their workers, bourgeois life-styles — all of these things will come under regular attack in political campaigns.

The catch is that these campaigns are going to remain relatively superficial if there's no one at the top of the political structure like Mao Tse-tung — or the four purged radicals who surrounded him in his last years — who is committed to cutting the elite down to size even at the cost of political turmoil and economic dislocation.

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Unresolved world issues — 20 years later

By Robert R. Bowie

years the U.S. has too often neglected such cooperation, indeed more open diplomacy is essential for it to flourish at all levels. That to will require change.

Twenty years ago, the needs of the less developed countries (LDCs) were beginning to receive some attention. Indeed, Truman launched Point Four assistance in 1949. But has taken time to grasp the complexity of development and to disentangle assistance from East-West rivalry.

The problems of poverty, population, food and growth — and the whole relation with the LDCs — are critical to a decent international order. Yet they have not been getting the priority which they deserve, and which they will require for many years to come.

Looking back 20 years seems to me to put the current tasks of foreign policy both old and new into perspective. It should remind us of the shaping a new global order is a long and difficult job. It will take steady and coherent effort to achieve constructive cooperation among the advanced democracies, with the various LDCs, and, as feasible, with adversaries. It cannot be done by ad hoc or short-term measures. And cannot be postponed.

Dr. Bowie is a member of the Harvard Center for International Affairs and of the Harvard faculty.